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COMMISSION ON SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM
STUDY OF ADOLESCENTS

The Adolescent Personality

COMMISSION ON SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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The Adolescent Personality

A Study of Individual Behavior

For the

COMMISSION ON SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

By

PETER BLOS



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Foreword

In this book Dr. Bloss presents the case-history approach to the study of adolescent boys and girls, an approach which provided the framework of the investigations carried on by the Study of Adolescents. The Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, which conducted the Study, was set up in 1932 by the Progressive Education Association to develop a program of collaborative research and planning which would clarify the basic problems of secondary education. To fulfill its purpose the Commission established a number of committees, each representing a curricular field, to formulate proposals for teaching in the subject-matter areas of the secondary school curriculum. It also established the Study of Adolescents, which was assigned the special task of gathering material for a fuller understanding of adolescent personality and development. The Commission hoped that such an understanding of the student, in his life outside as well as inside the school, in his personal and social concerns as well as his academic needs, would influence secondary schools to develop a sounder educational program, going beyond the mere teaching of information and curricular content.

In order to gather a wide range of data about adolescents, the Study drew upon a staff composed of educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, social workers, sociologists, anthropologists, and specialists in other disciplines. With this staff it set out to collect material about ordinary students in their typical school settings, about the kinds of young people whom the teacher meets in his everyday classroom experience. To secure a representative cross-section of the school population, the Study selected entire classes of students from private and public high schools and from colleges in different sections of the country. It also included a group of older adolescents who, like Mary and Joe in Part Four of this volume, had already left school and could provide data on the problems and responsibilities faced by young people no longer un-

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der school influence. The sample, therefore, took account of adolescents ranging from junior high school through the fourth year of collége, out-of-school youth as well as school youth, and young people representing a wide variety of socio-economic, cultural, and geographic backgrounds.

The method used by the Study in collecting case material was derived to some extent from the case-history technique which had originally been devised by clinics. Insofar as the clinical approach is designed to give a picture of the individual as a total functioning personality, it is similar to the approach employed in the Study. The clinic, however, deals with individuals who are referred to it for certain deviations of behavior and for disturbances of adjustment. Its case histories, prepared for psychiatrists and social workers, serve as a basis for treatment. Though they are poorly adapted for the use of workers in education, clinical histories have been almost the only materials available to teachers interested in the case-history approach. In contrast to the clinical situation, the Study was not concerned with investigating maladjustments, nor did it have any therapeutic aim, though in some cases the intervention of research workers helped to bring about a more favorable adjustment. The purpose of the Study was to gather the kinds of data about individual adolescents which would offer insight into their behavior and motivation, and would serve as a diagnostic basis for education rather than for treatment.

To throw light on the genetic factors of development, the Study gathered material about the individual's early life and family history. This information was secured largely through interviews with the adolescent and, whenever possible, with his parents. Interview records, some of them verbatim and others in summary form, also provided data about the interests and attitudes of the boy or girl. Through school records, teachers' reports, and interviews with teachers, extending over a period of several years, evidence was obtained of the student's academic achievements and personal relationships in the school setting. The early life history and the school records contained some data on the student's physical development, and these sources were supplemented in many instances by special physical examinations, body-build pictures taken at regular intervals, and interviews with the school physician.

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In many cases, too, observations were conducted of the student's behavior among his classmates and at home. Such direct expressive material as written compositions and art work provided further clues for interpreting the behavior of the individual adolescent. Various tests—the Rorschach Test, the Murray Picture Test (Thematic Apperception Test), a test on the recall of completed and uncompleted tasks, for example—were frequently employed as devices for checking and supplementing the data secured from other sources. No attempt was made, either through these tests or through other methods of obtaining material, to set up a uniform procedure. In gathering its case material the Study attempted, rather, to make use of the many sources available to educators. It sought to demonstrate the value of these various channels for gaining an intimate view of individual adolescents, and by comparing the cases of a large number of young people it hoped to arrive at valid generalizations about adolescent behavior and development.

More than six hundred histories were collected, and these constitute the raw material of the Study. Though they are open to a selected number of people for professional use, they are not equally suitable for publication. Some are too incomplete and inconclusive to provide a sound basis for interpretation. Others have only a limited usefulness; they deal with family situations and individual difficulties which are beyond the reach of educational procedures, or they describe personality problems which are relatively rare in the school environment. Furthermore, the intimate nature of much of the material places special restrictions upon the publication of case histories. Great care has been exercised to preserve the anonymity of the young people who coöperated with the Study. In this book, as in other publications of the Study, any details in the case material which might serve to identify individuals have been omitted or altered, and all names have been changed.

As an important part of its work in the selection and preparation of cases, the Study experimented with the application of this material to workers in education. Groups of teachers, guidance workers, and school administrators were presented with cases or portions of cases, and their reactions guided the staff in preparing histories that would be best adapted to educational uses. Synoptic histories and parts of cases proved to be useful as suggestive mate-

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rial for examining and interpreting adolescent behavior. Inconsistent behavior, however, is characteristic of the adolescent, and interpretations based only upon fragmentary evidence of his reactions are apt to be false and misleading. The consistent trends underlying his apparent inconsistencies are most clearly revealed by observing him in many different situations and by comparing the clues that come from different sources. It is toward this more intensive and many-faceted study of single cases that the present volume is directed. Such a study is best suited to bring out the multiplicity of factors influencing the individual adolescent, and it thereby offers a sound basis for educational diagnosis and for judging the changes likely to result from one educational course of action or another. It also provides the most fruitful context in which to test out such general trends of adolescent behavior and development as Dr. Blos discusses in Part Three of this book.

Dr. Blos is particularly equipped to prepare this volume because he not only has clinical insight and a knowledge of therapeutic problems, but throughout his career he has kept in constant practical touch with adolescents of all types, both as a high-school teacher and as a guidance worker. In addition, Dr. Blos has been especially skillful in teaching teachers. He understands those problems of adolescent growth and development which give them most concern. As a worker on the Study of Adolescents and, more recently, as a staff member of the Child Study Association of America and of the Institute for the Study of Personality Development, Dr. Blos has had wide experience in using case material for teaching and in adapting it to the needs of those who deal with the education and guidance of youth.

CAROLINE B. ZACHRY
Chairman, Study of Adolescents

Acknowledgments

In its present form this volume is the end product of a series of tentative formulations. Although its underlying purpose was clear from the very start—namely, to convey information and insight about adolescent development to people in general concerned with youth and to educators in particular—the form of presentation had to pass through several experimental stages. Many individuals and groups have had a share in contributing to this process of experimentation, not only by giving me specific suggestions for improvement but also by offering, often as anonymous members of a group, their spontaneous reactions to the material and thus permitting me to test the effectiveness of my presentation. I am especially indebted for suggestions, criticism, and encouragement to H. H. Drewry, Lawrence K. Frank, Lois Meredith French, Robert J. Havighurst, Wilma Lloyd, Margaret Mahler, Stanley Newman, Fritz Redl, George V. Sheviakov, V. T. Thayer, Goodwin B. Watson, Regina C. Weiss, Helen L. Witmer, and Caroline B. Zachry. With special gratitude I wish to refer to the stimulating association with the many teacher groups attending the Institute for the Study of Personality Development, New York City, during 1939 to 1940 and the Summer Workshops of the Progressive Education Association, held at Bronxville, New York in 1937, at Denver, Colorado in 1938, and at Claremont, California in 1939. The educators participating in these study groups came to the discussions directly from their first-hand contact with youngsters and the experiences which we shared at these discussions have profoundly influenced the form and content of this volume.

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1

Looking at Personality

I. Fundamental Concepts

Before entering upon a study of individual adolescents, it seems desirable to examine some of the general problems raised in any study of personality. This will help to clarify certain concepts which are basic to an understanding of the developmental period of adolescence. A brief discussion of these concepts is offered to the reader interested in the theoretical foundations upon which the treatment of case material rests, but it may be postponed by the educator who wishes to deal first with Betty and Paul, with Mary and Joe, the adolescent boys and girls whose case material is presented in Parts Two and Four.

Much controversy has centered about the term *personality*, especially in its reference to the processes through which personality is formed and the ways in which it functions. However, a definition of what personality is raises fewer controversial issues, and such a descriptive definition was in fact arrived at with a gratifying measure of agreement by representatives of various scientific disciplines.¹ According to this group of representative scientists, personality is an integrated system of the individual's habitual attitudes and behavior tendencies, thus representing his characteristic adjustment to his environment. Although habitual behavior undoubtedly contains personal meanings quite important to the individual himself, it was held that such subjective and intangible factors as ideas, beliefs, feelings, and aspirations are concomitants of the individual's personal encounters with other individuals. Obviously the appraisal of a personality is based primarily on behavior and on the rôle and status a person occupies in a group or in society. This consideration led the group of scien-

¹ American Psychiatric Association and Social Science Research Council, *Proceedings*, Second Colloquium on Personality Investigation (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930).

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tists to emphasize the social aspect of personality² and to define it briefly as the "individual's social stimulus value."

Anyone who deals with children—or, for that matter, anyone who observes people closely—has been struck by the fact that outward signs of response, expressed in behavior, do not necessarily disclose the motives from which they spring. It has become commonplace to say that the child favoring or rejecting a performance or a person may do so for many different reasons. The same experience, then, will not call forth an identical response in different individuals, nor are like reactions necessarily derived from identical causes. Underlying motives are apt to become increasingly obscured as the child progresses in social adaptation and assimilation; his responses become progressively detached in overt content of expression from personal aspects and meanings. In aggressive behavior it has been observed, for example, that the younger the child the more directly he expresses hostility, whereas with advancing age such reactions become controlled, though they can still be clearly observed in play situations.³ Such instrumentalities of expression as language, body movements, facial expressions, gestures become more uniform with age, and the affective component becomes less obvious and direct in the manifest content of behavior. This is a natural correlate of the growing differentiation of the personality and its enrichment in adjustive faculties.

Despite these outward effects of socialization, the individual continues to invest people, objects, and situations with personal meanings, which are of decisive importance in forming his motives and in determining his choices in any situational alternative. This process which takes place within the person is not necessarily conscious. Choices are often made without an awareness of the driving forces which determine the final resolution. The child who suddenly loses or gains interest in a subject at school is seldom able to give reasons for the change in his behavior, though

² See *Psychology at Work*, Paul S. Achilles, editor (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932), Chapter IV, "The Foundations of Personality," Mark A. May, pp. 81-101.

³ Lauretta Bender and Paul Schilder, "Aggressiveness in Children," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, Vol. 18, 1936, pp. 410-425.

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the reasons may often be quite obvious to an observer. The change may be due to physical conditions, to teacher attitudes, to the content of a course, to home and environmental influences—the observed fact remains as an eagerness or indifference at school or in a particular course. There are two ways, as Dollard has pointed out, of looking at a situation in which the individual is an active part: “there is an objective view or sort of average of what others would recognize in it; and there is also an extremely private or personal view of the situation to which the subject actually reacts.”⁴

If the multiplicity of causation is acknowledged, it becomes evident that the manifest component of behavior does not provide a valid basis for drawing direct conclusions about personal meanings. How, then, are we going to arrive at an adequate understanding of personality? The material which we are using in this volume as documentary sources for personality study is chiefly composed of observational data, such as reports on health status, behavior, interests, as well as self-expressive material, such as writing, speech, and the like. All these elements are regarded as manifestations peculiarly related to the personality and conditioned by it. Through different mediums they provide access to the structure and function of the personality. They often give supplementary evidence of certain personality trends; as will be shown in the case of Paul, behavior, writing, interview conversation, and speech are not isolated but correlated externalizations, reflecting essential and identical features of his personality. However, the data do not speak for themselves. They must be translated and interpreted in order to provide insight into the personal meanings which so pervasively influence the individual. Certain well-recognized characteristics of human behavior make such an interpretive approach entirely feasible and dependable.

Though behavior characteristics do not give a direct picture of the personality, they provide the raw material for an interpretation. Since behavior contains, besides its manifest component, a personal meaning, any given form of behavior is not solely determined by the immediate situation in which it occurs. Previous ex-

⁴ John Dollard, *Criteria of the Life History* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1935), p. 30.

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periences affect the individual's response in any situation and determine the quality it assumes for him. The gamut of unique experiences which are part and parcel of each life history acts as a constant influence upon the way later situations are met. Native make-up starts children off with different kinds of endowments, among which physique is of foremost importance for personality development. Because of the close relationship between physiological functions and the first awareness and incorporation of the outside world, physical condition is an intrinsic factor in the first patternings which emerge during infant years. However, the emotional relationship to others, especially to family members, must be thoroughly taken into account if later habitual reactive tendencies are to be understood. The highly idiomatic character of each family situation leaves the child with a distinctive residue of patterned feeling response, which determines in many ways his attitude and reaction to future experiences.

The developmental approach to personality is similar to the approach taken by the interpreter of current affairs, who also views the happenings of the day as an outcome of slow historical processes as well as a reaction to acute situations. Therefore, in order to understand any item of behavior at the moment it occurs, one must look at it as a personality expression which has gone through an historical process and contains condensations of the past. The quest for a clear distinction between the contribution made by the personality and that made by the situation toward the final outcome of response prompted Dr. Healy to offer this cautious and discriminating remark: "Any given characteristic reaction must often be thought of as a function of the personality organization rather than as a function of the stimulus, yet sometimes the stimulus appears to be the main factor."⁵

Although the developmental history and organization of the personality are of prime importance in determining behavior, the immediate situation which calls forth behavior must also be considered. In order to mobilize his resources to meet a situation which confronts him, the person must be motivated to do so. This motivation is not regarded as a conscious act of will. Like the

⁵ William Healy, *Personality in Formation and Action* (New York, W. W. Norton and Co., 1938), p. 35.

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purposeful and compelling processes which take place on the physiological level, behavior is conceived as the response to stimuli from an inner and outer environment; its purpose is to alleviate tensions and to reestablish a state of balance. Consequently, forms of behavior which can be observed are not arbitrary individual movements; they represent actions which are purposive in character for the individual. This total process, in which tensions, physical or emotional, act as motivating agents for the attainment of a specific equilibrial condition, is usually referred to as the dynamics of behavior. It is a process which will be illustrated in detail by the case material that follows. Dr. Thom has emphasized this aspect of behavior by saying:

One can not be too much impressed with the importance of thinking of social conduct in terms of symptoms and in making every effort at the earliest possible date to interpret the undesirable activity in terms of the purpose it serves the child at the moment. This means that conduct, whether it be good or bad, when reduced to its simplest terms is the reaction of a particular individual to a particular situation in life. And if the conduct is to be intelligently understood, either for the purpose of perpetuating it or eliminating it, one must know, as intimately as possible, the individual and must also be informed about his life situation as a whole.⁶

If we come to realize that the internal residue of experiences, which differs widely among individuals, conditions their behavior in new situations, we shall not be surprised to find that individuals respond in different ways to similar stimuli. They respond to these stimuli with differently organized personalities. However, no static or final organization is ever attained; the constantly shifting interaction between environment and individual must be examined before the personality in its unique manifestations can be fully appraised. Among the factors contributing to personality patterns, the impact of the cultural milieu and the social stratum is influential in shaping its participants in terms of language, values, social behavior, and knowledge. Through cultural status and experience the individual is brought to a recognition of the accepted inviolabilities of his in-group with respect to persons, objects,

⁶Douglas A. Thom, *Normal Youth and Its Everyday Problems* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935), p. 185.

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places, and times. These regulations are the definable characteristics of the culture or the subcultural stratum in which the person lives.* The normative influence of such cultural patterns often contradicts personal wishes and urgencies, a conflict which is differently manifested according to environmental opportunities and prevailing sanctions. In considering the conflict which ensues at adolescence in the field of religion, for example, it is important to know whether the individual has grown up and now lives in a religious environment, and whether the community is homogeneous or heterogeneous in its religious affiliations. The premium of security which comes with conformity and institutionalization loses its value in the face of other closely living and interacting groups which do not abide by the same regulative norms, especially at a time when the child normally establishes his wider social identifications. Religious homogeneity is apt to forestall disturbing manifestations of personal conflict in this area. Heterogeneity, however, is more likely to precipitate acute conflicts in relation to religion through the psychological identity of parent and church in contrast to society at large and other religious groups.⁷ This bears out the common experience that specific factors in the environment assume a different meaning and provide a different opportunity for the individual as soon as their relative position within the total situation changes.

Geographical as well as social factors operate as environmental influences, distinguishing one community from another and even one neighborhood from another. The city and the country, for example, are distinctive environments, each offering the child certain limited choices for building his attitudes and externalizing his behavior. A study of wishes of rural and city school children, age seven to fifteen, bears out further the influence of "neighborhood" and indicates that sex and age determine the type of goal or desire a child expresses while social and cultural factors determine the specific object of desire.⁸

⁷ The case of Paul will offer an interesting illustration of a child growing up in a family without institutionalized religion and living in an environment of heterogeneous religious groups. How the ambivalence of the mother to her own dissent affected the child will also become evident.

⁸ George S. Speer, "Oral and Written Wishes of Rural and City School Children," *Child Development*, Vol. 10, September, 1939, pp. 151-155.

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Dr. Plant has pointed out the bearing of these environmental differences upon truancy.

For instance many children develop important and pervasive feelings of guilt out of their problems and the sense of guilt can never be evaded in the country. To each place that the child goes (even for miles) he finds already there the knowledge of his difficulties. In the city one or two city blocks suffice for complete anonymity. Truancy of the escape sort, frequently found in cities, is relatively unknown in rural districts. Swimming-hole truancy and circus truancy are common, but truancy as a rebellion against school conditions is rare. "There is no place to go," the children say. So one may go through the entire gamut of childhood situations—finding that neighborhood enters to bolster or condemn in the most pressing fashion.⁹

Although the world outside represents a reality to which the individual must learn to respond adequately, in which he must find suitable channels for expression and self-realization if he is to avoid defeat and gain satisfaction and control, there is nonetheless an inner world with realities just as urgent and compelling which also causes the subject to react. A well-integrated control prevents either of these worlds from usurping exclusive dominance. Lawrence K. Frank describes this situation ably when he says:

From studies of personality and of the culture it appears that man *exists* as an organism in a common public world of animals, plants, structures and other physical objects and processes, but each individual *lives* in his private world of meanings and feelings, derived from the impact of culture that takes place in the specific personal relations between cultural agents and the child. Different cultures tolerate varying degrees of deviation from the socially sanctioned patterns of conduct. In our culture when the individual's private world deviates too far from the official culture we speak of mental disorders; when the individual's overt conduct transgresses the culturally defined inviolabilities, or conflicts with the cultural requirements, we speak of delinquency and criminality.¹⁰

It follows, then, that motivation will not spring from the tangible circumstances of a situation alone but will be blended with

⁹ James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1937), p. 42.

¹⁰ See "Culture and Personality, A Round Table Discussion," *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. VIII, October, 1938, p. 625.

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and colored by inner realities, however irrational they may be. The adolescent who feels that adults are intentionally and inconsiderately curbing his freedom of movement cannot be convinced by mere reason of the unreality in such a feeling; for "to say that a feeling is unreal does not mean that we do not feel it, any more than to say that an idea is false means that we do not think it."¹¹ With progressive strengthening of the self and with firmer integrative control, inner realities are kept as a private feeling world while reason and conformity are more readily employed to pattern manifest behavior. However, as a factor in motivation, the private feeling world assumes a potency and significance which adolescent behavior is apt to illustrate profusely. In fact, it is during this developmental period that the individual must achieve a workable reconciliation between highly idiomatic meanings and socially regulated conduct in order to take a mature place in society. The distinctive way in which each person achieves this end accounts for the uniqueness of the individual and his social contribution.

Too sharp and clear-cut a division should not be made between inner and outer forces. The interaction between the individual and his environment is so close that the two are better considered as a functional whole. Dr. Healy refers to this interaction when he writes:

Just as the biologist properly states that the behavior of an organism can only be understood through studying the reactions between it and its environment, so we may insist that many factors that enter into the shaping of personality can only be known through taking into account the principle of circular response. The individual is always doing something to his environment; his environment is continually doing something to him; to the latter he responds with a further reaction, and in turn the environment also shows a reactive response. No unchanging situation between the self and the environment is ever evoked. Now I know full well that there are many complexities involved in this procession of responses; for example, the interpretation of the response of any organism to any stimulus cannot rightfully be alone in terms of a function of that stimulus; much greater, very often, is the function of

¹¹ John MacMurray, *Reason and Emotion* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938), p. 33.

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the self-activity of the reflex arcs of the organism which as body and mind respond to the stimulus.¹²

As this passage suggests, it is the total personality, not one of its separate and diversified aspects, which responds to a situation. For purposes of analyzing and describing the complex data of behavior, however, it is often advantageous to deal separately with the physical and the mental, the intellectual and the emotional, the personal and the social. In this way attention can be focused upon certain selected aspects of the personality. But this descriptive procedure is merely a useful verbal device, not the basis of a conception of personality. To conceive of the individual as a self-contained and departmentalized mechanism, making isolated responses to simple environmental stimuli, is to set up a convenient but essentially false abstraction.

Even from the brief discussion that has been presented, it is evident that the individual must be conceived as a functionally interrelated whole, a complex organism which has passed through a developmental history and responds at any given moment to an array of inner and outer forces. This concept of personality will serve as a frame of reference for the case studies to follow. It is hoped that the case material will illuminate this concept by providing concrete details to illustrate the multiple facets of personality and the intricacies of behavior.

¹² Healy, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

2. The Case-Study Approach

Although one may select some single aspect of personality for close examination, one soon becomes aware that this aspect exists only in relation to others, whose interaction reveals the specific structure of the personality. The individual is not a conglomeration of traits but a functioning totality, and an understanding of the whole is a prerequisite to a proper evaluation of any selected detail. This organismic conception of personality has been elaborated with a variety of special emphases in recent years, but many of its implications have still to be explored. There is no better way to gain an understanding of the complex picture of personality formation and function than to study a rich fund of concrete data concerning one individual and to subject the various constituents of a total situation—environmental and personal—to careful scrutiny. Through this approach it becomes possible to organize the many factors involved in a case and ultimately to relate them in their dynamic interaction. The organization and structure of personality can then be viewed “as the patterned activity of constituents in a field, wherein the field is seen as arising from the interaction of the constituents which in turn are patterned by that interaction, without invoking any mystic entities or powers or forces.”¹³ Based upon this concept of personality function, the inquiry into isolated performances or reactions of the individual receives a new stimulus for re-orientation. Any item of behavior takes its place in a context and

¹³ Lawrence K. Frank, “Cultural Coercion and Individual Distortion,” *Psychiatry*, Vol. II, February, 1939, p. 16. In another publication the author refers to the field concept as follows: “This field concept is highly important because it leads to the general notion that any ‘entity’ we single out for observation is participating in a field; any observation we make must be ordered to the field in which it is made or as we say, every observation or measurement is relative to the frame of reference or field in which it occurs.” “Projective Methods for the Study of Personality,” *The Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 8, October, 1939, p. 396.

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such perspective is essential if one is seeking, not merely to describe behavior, but to ascertain its personal meaning. The meaning which finally motivates the individual to act and to make choices deserves special attention in a study of individual behavior.

Contextual reference in relation to behavior refers to a description of the variables entering any situation. But an ordinary life situation, with its great number of variables, presents many difficulties for an investigation and many possibilities of error. Since the adolescents studied were not investigated in an experimental setting but observed in their ordinary school situation, an attempt was made to control and check some of the variables by using corroborative material of various types, such as school records, interviews, writings, physical examinations, socio-cultural descriptions of school, family, and community. These sources furnish data sufficiently specific and varied in scope to make the individual's behavior meaningful and relevant. For an understanding of the data referring to the adolescent period, the individual's past experiences and circumstances should also be made available, and this has been done as fully as the sources would permit. Dr. Healy has indicated the far-reaching importance of an historical approach for the study of individuals: ". . . the knowledge of personality for any theoretical or for any practical purpose must be obtained through utilizing the technique of historical perspective in the study of individual persons."¹⁴

With its emphasis on the individual rather than on group averages and statistical norms, this study uses an approach similar to the method necessarily employed by clinics, where the individual case is looked upon as the unit to be investigated and treated. The case-study method, and much of the terminology associated with it, originated in social work, child-guidance work, and clinical endeavor aimed at the treatment of maladjusted persons. Under these conditions it took on the unfortunate connotation of referring solely to grossly deviate individuals, and it still bears a tinge of its original reference. More recently, however, the case-study or life-history approach has established itself as an independent tool for the scientific investigation of all types of human be-

¹⁴ Healy, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

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havior.¹⁵ "The clinical approach [as it also may be called] is absolutely necessary for the investigation of personality as a whole, for a true picture of personality cannot be pieced together from any number of test scores. The total is an organismic, not an additive, total."¹⁶ In demonstrating this organismic conception of personality, the case material to follow will indicate that the data which are reported from various sources and from different times in the individual's life career represent a continuum within the individual despite the impression of a disconnected and uneven picture which may occasionally be given by this type of material. It will become progressively evident from the case material that all behavior meaningful to the individual serves some definite purpose in his total functioning—indeed, often unknown to him—and that even the most trivial or apparently irrelevant behavior is worthy of attention in the investigation of personality.

The various categories in which a person could be conveniently described—intelligence, interests, affective life, physical development, social attitudes, fantasy life—lose their isolated reference when they are placed in the context of individual meaningfulness; the items of behavior classified in a single rubric will play a totally different rôle in the lives of different individuals. However, it should not be overlooked that studies referring to such partial features of personality as intelligence or physical growth have contributed essential knowledge about their distribution and their variation within a group. This is not only true for the physical growth of adolescents but for their emotional development as well. Although it is very important to accumulate information about the manifest components of behavior in relation to given factors, this must be supplemented by additional insight if the dynamics operating in an individual are to be under-

¹⁵ The adolescents investigated in the present volume were in no sense deviate individuals or guidance cases. They were an unselected group of adolescents, who served as subjects for the application of the case-study method. The investigation reported here had no clinical purpose, for it was conducted as a research study of personality, with the ultimate aim of serving education.

¹⁶ L. M. Terman, "The Measurement of Personality," *Science*, Vol. LXXX, December, 1934, p. 607.

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stood. The averages or descriptive summaries based upon large groups of people cannot be related to the individual's life and understood in their personal significance.

An inference from the average to the concrete particular case is hence impossible. The concept of the average child and the average situation are abstractions that have no utility for the investigations of dynamics. Thus the environmental researches become, in general, the more fruitful the more attention is paid to a comprehension of the concrete total situation instead of to the number of cases.¹⁷

Since this study is concerned with the operating forces within the adolescent, it is, then, quite obvious why an inductive approach should be made to the problem of adolescence and why case material should be presented first as a basis for the theoretical considerations to follow. In fact, the constant interaction between individual and environment as well as the influence of past experiences upon present behavior could hardly be studied otherwise.

Cross-sectional studies of children, furthermore, are not designed to deal with the problems of individual variation. Lacking criteria for comparable developmental levels, these group studies are forced to use school grade or chronological age as constants in their investigation of various personality attributes. Since these external constants do not correlate with developmental ages in general, it seems unavoidable that essential features of individual difference should become blurred by the statistical, cross-sectional treatment of data. Again it must be emphasized that for the study of the individual's position within a group, for the study of prevailing trends, attitudes, or opinions among a large number of individuals, the statistical procedure is unrivaled; but if it is used as a basis for inferences about individual meanings, it oversteps its proper sphere of validity. Because similar types of overt behavior do not spring from identical causes, it is desirable in personality studies to investigate the quality which given experiences acquire for different persons rather than to treat only

¹⁷ Kurt Lewin, "Environmental Forces in Child Behavior and Development," in *A Dynamic Theory of Personality* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935), p. 68.

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quantitatively overt reactions.¹⁸ The life-history or case-study approach is an attempt to study these differentiated qualities and then to view them against a background of group norms and group trends.

Among the different types of material used in the following case studies, each type makes a distinctive contribution to the understanding of individual adolescent development. It is obvious that the teachers' reports ("Observational material") and the creative writings ("Self-expressive material") are not equivalent types of data; they refer, therefore, to different levels of interpretation. Teachers' reports contain primarily a description of behavior or a comparative evaluation of it in terms of group trends. Important as such information is, it does not give as valid an access to the individual's inner life as does creative writing. An essential difference between the two types of material lies in the greater authenticity of the creative writing, whereas the teachers' reports represent, so to speak, second-hand information necessarily subjected to the selective processes of the person reporting. Naturally, training in observation and in elimination of personal bias will improve the quality of the observational data. In order to reduce the distortions introduced by the personal equation of the observer, it has been found desirable to use many observations by different people. In approaching both types of material, any interpretation is based on the assumption that behavior and attitudes as well as verbal expression are symptomatic in character and available to interpretive techniques. The indicative or symptomatic quality common to all the externalizations described in the material makes it possible to relate isolated factors of be-

¹⁸ "The statistical method is usually compelled to define its groups on the basis not of purely psychological characteristics but of more or less extrinsic ones (such as number of siblings), so that particular cases having quite different or even opposed psychological structure may be included in the same group. Especially to be emphasized, however, is the following consideration: the calculation of an average (e.g., of 'the one-year-old child') is designed to eliminate the 'accidents' of the environment; the determination of the 'average situation' (e.g., of the average effect of the situation of being an only child) is to exclude individual variations. But the very relation that is decisive for the investigation of dynamics—namely, that of the position of the actual individual child in the actual, concrete, total situation—is thereby abstracted." Lewin, *loc. cit.*

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havior and to structuralize them psychologically. The purpose is to reinstate them as meaningful in relation to the whole person, thus showing a continuum in development and in operation. It will become clear in the case studies themselves how the various types of material help toward a progressive differentiation of insight into individual adolescent behavior. Gaps which have necessarily been left, for example, in the interpretation of the observational material will be filled in or bridged over by the self-expressive material, the two types of data supplementing and corroborating each other at many points. The creative and spontaneous expression of free writing transmits, besides its rational content, a psychological content which is characteristic for the creator.

Some of the variables which allow access to the writer's personality, with the aid of interpretive techniques, are rational content, fantasies and symbolisms, recurrent structural patterns to which different content is adapted, frequency and repetition, associative sequence, and emotional emphasis or blankness. Through the psychological character of any creation, we are apt to get closer to the intimate structure of the personality than we could from observational data alone. Personal feelings and sensations, wishful thinking, deprivation and disappointment indirectly find a legitimate outlet in creative writing, whether it be prose or poetry. In order to give the writing a degree of anonymity, which cannot be penetrated by the author himself, various forms of disguise are used. The invention of these disguises and their adaptation to different mediums (e. g., writing, painting, expressive movements) as well as to standards of conformity (e. g., intelligibility, esthetic value, approved content) constitutes in fact a major part of the creative process. The interpretive task would imply that we should reverse the creative process and, starting from the final product, work back to the determining factors. In doing so we may assume that there must be, in a psychological sense, a motivating force which accounts for the mental effort of searching for plots, words, symbols, and images. This force, being derived from the psychological make-up of the individual, his "private world," reflects that individual's pattern in its specific directedness and selectiveness. Since obviously a creative person must actively select among innumerable symbols and images, he is most likely to

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choose a combination which expresses his personality pattern in one way or another. This choice cannot fail to be indicative of the individual creator and significant for an interpretation of his personality.

The interview represents another type of material which contains special characteristics of its own. Although it possesses certain of the features found in self-expressive material, such as associative sequence, repetitiousness, etc., it is essentially a relationship situation; the effect of the interviewer must be taken into consideration as a contributing factor in the total situation. The cases of Mary and Joe will offer the most relevant material for gaining an understanding of the interviewer's rôle. In all of the cases interviews were conducted as an investigation with the special purpose of gathering information about the personal reactions, feelings, aspirations, interests, fantasies, and memories of adolescents. The interviews were not mapped out to collect answers to prearranged questions; on the contrary, they followed along associative lines and urged the subject as little as possible in any direction. This does not imply that a stimulus question or statement might not have been introduced at a certain point, in order to keep up an apparently natural conversation or to avoid any too serious involvements. For this very reason the material is sometimes lacking in associative continuity. As much as possible the subject was allowed to drift along on the crest of his own associations and to carry the discussion into whatever channels he wished to explore. For the study of individual adolescent behavior, however, such uncoerced and undefined situations as creative writing and the interview are regarded as superior to prearranged, well-defined investigations employing questionnaires, tests, and the like. "When we ask an individual to tell what he believes or feels or to indicate in which categories he belongs, this social pressure to conform to the group norms operates to bias what he will say and presses him to fit himself into the categories of the inventory or questionnaire offered for self-diagnosis. Moreover, as Henry A. Murray has observed, the most important things about an individual are what he cannot or will not say."¹⁹

¹⁹ Lawrence K. Frank, "Projective Methods for the Study of Personality," *The Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 8, October, 1939, p. 395.

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For descriptive purposes it has been found convenient to organize the extensive material on adolescent adjustments into the following ten areas: Adults, Boys, Girls, Physical development, Self, Adulthood and vocation, Intellectual interests, Self-expressive activities, Standards, and Religion. While these areas are of course arbitrary, they were found inclusive and practicable for organizing the material of this study. The family has not been assigned to a special area, for it is such a pervasive factor that there is not a single aspect of adolescent adjustment upon which the family does not exert, directly or indirectly, the most profound influence; the family will, therefore, be considered in relation to each one of the areas mentioned. It has also been found that not every adolescent exhibits relevant behavior in all the areas; some of the areas do not constitute fields of concern and are not appropriate topics for working out the reactive tendencies of certain individuals.

The case material that follows will acquaint the reader with a mass of factual data valuable for an appreciation of the very complex situation in which the individual operates. The insight into individual development, gained from this examination of concrete details, will then facilitate a consideration of the general characteristics of adolescence and will contribute to a theoretical understanding that rests upon the solid foundation of case study findings. Two of the cases will precede the general discussion of the adolescent period, and two will follow. In this way the theory derived from case histories can be subsequently applied to other cases and tested in the context of new material. Finally, to fulfill the underlying purpose of this investigation, in which the case material of four adolescents is explored at such length, generalizations relevant to education will be presented. For this study has grown out of the conviction that sound educational theory and practice must be based upon an intimate understanding of individual behavior and development.

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2

Betty and Paul

Introduction

The two cases presented in the following pages have been selected from a large number of cases because they were thought to be especially suitable for studying adolescent behavior. Both Betty and Paul, though coming from different social groups and living in different communities, plan to go to college; therefore the immediate pressure of economic independence is not as critical for them as for Mary and Joe, whose cases will be given later. It should be understood that neither Betty nor Paul presented any unusual problems to the school, at least not to the grade in which they were being studied. They were not selected because they evidenced serious manifestations which made help in the nature of guidance an urgent issue. In fact, no guidance responsibility was assumed by the worker who conducted the interviews; indeed, he intentionally avoided any such responsibility. The time limitation of the Study of Adolescents made it imperative for the worker to take such a stand.

The reader who may regard Betty or Paul as unusual in their life circumstances, experiences, and concerns must be reminded that any case will offer the same "unusualness"; many a research worker searching through the files of the Study of Adolescents for a "simple" or "average" case had to reconcile himself to the fact that any life career, if recorded in detail, cannot fail to be unique.

The students' as well as the parents' coöperation with the workers of the Study was entirely voluntary. No questionnaires were handed out to collect information;¹ it was thought that more pertinent material, however heterogeneous it might be, would emerge from the information which the student or parent volunteered in repeated interviews. Topics which may have seemed

¹ Psychological tests, physical examinations and measurements, Murray's Thematic Apperception Test, and the Rorschach Test were used in the Study of Adolescents, but only the first two sources of data are incorporated in this presentation.

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valuable for the purpose of the Study were never forced into the discussions. Such a free interview situation was designed to elicit data which the student or parent felt to be important, and the significance of the material far outweighed the gaps in information which necessarily occurred. On the other hand, the workers tended to emphasize the type of material which was of particular interest to the educator, material which confined itself primarily to the school in its various aspects.

As to the organization of the material, the school situation again dictated the approach. In contrast to a purely historical case presentation, the adolescent in these case records is first met while attending grade ten. This, after all, represents the teacher's point of view: to see a child at one period of his life career and to observe him for a limited time in a specific situation. If the symptomatic character of behavior is taken seriously, it is likely that careful observation in class situations will open new avenues to an understanding of the student. In the cases of Betty and Paul much of the material is derived from the school, and extensive attention is given to this aspect because it represents a body of information which is easily available to the teacher. In the case of Betty school records are given first in order to outline the picture which the school had of the girl during her attendance in grade ten. But in the case of Paul interview material is presented first to reveal the focal points of his concerns as expressed in a personal setting; such insight will contribute to a fuller understanding of the school records. These different approaches will show the importance of corroborative evidence and the value of obtaining data from essentially different sources, such as interviews and teachers' reports. The cumulative approach to the study of individual adolescents does not imply that each one of the sources and situations under discussion represents a specific set of factors in the student's personality. The segmentation of the material recommended itself as a practical method of presenting a wealth of data and, further, of demonstrating that the personality reveals itself in terms of the distinctive character of each situation; thus classroom behavior, writings, and interview material, though different in content and in medium of expression, nevertheless show upon interpretation certain similarities and consistencies which reflect the

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student's personality. At no point in the case studies is it doubted that we are dealing with a total situation, with a constellation of interacting factors.

Special circumstances determined the manner in which some of the material was collected. In both schools the teachers' comments ("Observational material") were routine reports obtainable from the school files. These teachers were accustomed to keep detailed records of their students. The writings ("Self-expressive material") comprised the routine work of the English class. It was necessary to make a selection from all the writings of each student, however, and those writings were eliminated which dealt with historical synopses or literary descriptions revealing little of the student's own thinking and feeling. Such academic papers were not considered pertinent to this investigation. Preference in selection was always given to creative writings or to book reviews showing personal reactions. Such papers as "How I Have Changed" or "Hour by Hour Diary" were assigned to all students participating in the Study in different schools. The writings given in the case material are corrected only for spelling and other minor details of orthography, which were not thought of sufficient value to be preserved.

The workers conducting the interviews in both of the case histories were women between thirty and forty years of age. They had offices established within the school, and students were asked to participate with the worker in discussing their reaction to the curricular changes introduced into the tenth grade just as the Study opened. Their coöperation was never pressed, but most of them responded favorably. Often in the interviews the curriculum was not taken up at all, the student drifting immediately into a discussion of his personal concerns. The worker followed no pre-ordained plan. The free conversation interview was designed, on the whole, to explore adolescent responses to various life situations, in order to gain insight into the characteristics of individual behavior observed and recorded by the school. It was hoped that this spontaneously offered material, in conjunction with the family history and the child's life history, would throw light upon developmental problems related to adolescent behavior. However, the material was not originally collected with any such specific purpose in mind.

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In the cumulative approach it is necessary to base the first interpretations on a rather limited range of material. The tentative nature of such interpretive suggestions is obvious; no teacher would rely on them without searching for further confirmation. Yet such interpretations may open avenues for further inquiry and thus provide a starting point for a more valid educational planning. As a matter of fact, in writing each interpretation—the interpretation of the observational material in the case of Betty, for example—I was of course familiar with the case in its totality. Despite a conscious effort to restrict myself to the evidence contained only in that section, it would be naïve to suppose that this familiarity with the entire case failed to influence my interpretation.² Every interpretation, however, is based upon evidence included in the records as they are presented here. It should be emphasized again that no interpretation at any point can be considered by itself; only the case as a whole can furnish validity with respect to its details.

² However, in going over separate parts of the material with study groups of teachers I was surprised to find how frequently their conclusions approached my own, in spite of the fact that they had only a portion of the material on which to base their interpretations.

The Case of Betty

I. Identifying Data

Betty, a second child, was born in October, 1920, when her mother was thirty-three years of age, and her father thirty-eight. She has one brother who is almost five years older. The parents are American born, and spent their early childhood in small towns; subsequently, both moved to the city in which they now live. The parents take a particular interest in politics and social problems. They devote a great deal of time to discussions with friends and to attendance at lectures dealing with such topics. They value good books and good music and scorn the "cheap" ambitions of members of their socio-economic group, of whose pretentious clothes, sophisticated attitudes, and narrow-minded opinions they disapprove. Yet they reside in the midst of this group, in a fairly expensive residential district which attests to the father's successful career in business.

It is a source of deep regret to Betty's parents that she chooses her friends from these well-to-do families, with whom they themselves prefer to have no intimate contacts. Their son, quite unlike Betty, has accepted the family's serious attitude. The family's interests, as well as their values, are predominantly determined by the mother. It is she who completely manages the education of both children.

The family spends week-ends together. Betty and her brother have not much in common, but the general attitude of family members toward each other is friendly. Ordinarily they do not spend much time together. The parents pursue their own concerns and spend many evenings away from home.

The school which Betty attends is a coeducational public high school in a metropolitan area. It is situated near the district in which she lives, and is attended by boys and girls from her neighborhood. A large number of her classmates are sophisticated metropolitans who have parental approval for their interest in

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fashion and in parties. It is customary among them to attend parties at a very early age; during the school year, the boys frequently take the girls out to dances and the movies.

The school also draws from a section of town which is populated by families of a lower income level. However, the greater number of the children come from families in good economic circumstances; a large percentage of their parents are college graduates. The average intelligence of the student body is higher than in many other schools throughout the city. Due to this circumstance, Betty ranks as average among her classmates, despite the fact that, measured by standards for the general population, she possesses superior intellectual ability.

The school is concerned with adapting each student's program to his particular interests; but it is, in addition, aware of its responsibility to insure the scholastic achievement required for admission to college. Each student has an adviser, assigned to help with planning his program and with adjusting the schedule to his individual needs and future career. Academic subjects are taught without undue regard to competition for marks; despite this, considerable strain is sometimes felt by students who encounter temporary difficulties in their studies. The staff focuses a large share of attention upon the creative aspects of experiences: serious consideration is given to the arts conceived in their widest function.

The school faculty consists of about an equal number of men and women. Teachers are highly trained, and many of them are unusually adapted to work with boys and girls. Coöperation among them is geared to a high degree; yet, occasionally, lack of insight or an absence of integration and collective action somewhat defeats an individual teacher's effort. But a sincere attempt is constantly made to employ the program and personal resources of the school in a manner which will assure the optimal adjustment of individual students.

Betty resides in the city in which she was born; she changed neighborhoods only once in her life, when she was about ten years old. The family lives among a socially secure group, from which Betty has chosen all of her friends. The values and political ideals of her own family are at variance with those of neighborhood groups; therefore Betty is surrounded by heterogeneous standards.

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An early and partial adoption of adult standards, in dress, entertainment, and privileges, is the predominant tendency of Betty's age group; limited smoking, for example, is seldom objected to by any of the parents, provided the boy or girl has reached the age of fifteen or sixteen. Betty's own family is less conventional than are the neighboring families, although very intent upon keeping its particular values untouched. Therefore family standards are frequently in conflict with those to which Betty is exposed through school and other homes. In this highly heterogeneous social setting with its widely divergent standards, Betty seeks to find her place, her rôle, and her security.

2. Observational Material (1935-36) with Interpretation

OBSERVATIONAL MATERIAL (I-XVI)

I

September, 1935

Name: Betty

Age: 14-11¹

School: Public, coeducational

Grade being attended: Grade 10

Parents' marital status: United

Age of parents: Mother 48¹

Father 53¹

Sibling: Brother 19-5¹

Parents' occupation:

Mother: Housewife

Father: Executive in contracting firm

Income level: Comfortable

II Excerpt from report of school physician

October, 1935

. . . Betty's muscular coördination is good but she has never played on any of the teams, possibly because she has never tried. She seems more interested in reducing her weight and keeping a trim figure than in competitive sports . . . well developed and well proportioned, habitus distinctly feminine . . . her feeling about overweight is entirely unfounded. . . . Menses began at 13 years and occur regularly every twenty-eight days, lasting about three days. Sometimes there is pain the first day, and usually she is nervous and irritable. Activities have to be limited at these times.

Betty has focused a great deal of attention upon her body but with a view to esthetic rather than athletic uses. An extreme self-consciousness has developed over a mole on her left cheek. Recently she has set great hopes on an operation to remove the mole. This she thinks will improve her face and make her look more attractive. So far she has not obtained her parents' consent for the operation.

¹ All ages refer to the time at the beginning of this report, when the student entered grade ten, in September, 1935.

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Height: 64 inches

Weight: 112 lbs.

Physical fitness index (Schneider Index): ² 10 (class average 8.1)

According to the Schneider Index she ranks 19th among the 49 girls in the class.

III Comment of Mrs. Kimball (physical education)

November, 1935

This year Betty has been quite all right. She's a little slippery, it sometimes seems. When you pin her down, she is frank. She is working very hard on exercises. She wants to reduce her thighs. I think she is beginning to worry about her appearance. She mentioned that it used to take her a long time to get to sleep and now it does not take so long. She joined the special exercise group (weight normalizing).

IV Comment of Miss Swinton (Latin)

November, 1935

I find Betty timid in class. She becomes depressed if her work is poor and very much elated if it is right. She has had a very difficult time with Latin this year. Her brother had the same difficulty when he first started with Latin but he gradually improved, finally doing very good work. I suggested once to the mother that the brother help Betty with her Latin, but the mother explained that the two did not get along well enough and that the brother would probably refuse to do it. The mother accuses Betty of having a very bad temper at home, but this has never been observed at school.

V Comment of Mrs. Kimball (physical education)

November, 1935

Betty, seen coming out of the locker-rooms, was in high spirits. She was wearing Jane's dress.

VI Report of Mr. Barr (social studies)

November, 1935

Betty has a good mind but seems to be lazy and inclined to play if possible. Can do good work when forced to it.

VII Report of Miss McMullen (biology)

November, 1935

Betty has a good mind which she does not fully utilize. She is not interested in her work, which is both careless and untidy. She is insincere and unreliable.

VIII Report of Mrs. Kimball (physical education)

November, 1935

Betty is still inclined to work spasmodically rather than consist-

² The Schneider Index test eliminates the strength factor and strives to measure the physiological capacity of the individual for meeting the demands which are made upon that particular organism under ordinary circumstances.

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ently and needs constant supervision if anything is to be accomplished.

- IX Comment of Mr. Hayes (Betty's home-room teacher and adviser)

February, 1936

Betty is a nice, quiet child, very much dominated by her mother. Mother has always insisted on high grades, and now this is Betty's chief interest. She has had a great deal of difficulty with Latin this year. I suggested tutoring, to which the mother consented. The mother has always been fairly critical of the school and of the teachers. She does not approve of Miss Swinton's methods and asked me if I could not do something to change Miss McMullen's attitude, thinking that she was too severe.

The mother has always come to school very often in regard to the children's work; she has attended many meetings of the Parent Teacher Association. Many years ago when Frank (Betty's brother) had the leading part in the May Day festival, the mother came to the performance and insisted upon sitting in the front row, although this was reserved for small children. She insisted upon having one of these seats because her boy had the leading part, and she went down and sat in the front row.

- X Memorandum of Mr. Hayes (Betty's home-room teacher and adviser)

March, 1936

Betty has an IQ of 129 and isn't doing good work. I am looking for explanations. The mother thinks it is the fault of the school, but I do not remember a single thing that implied bad handling on the school's part. However, the situation is not as serious as with some others in the school, judging by the way Betty gets along.

- XI Comment of Mr. Warren (art)

March, 1936

I think Betty has talent and is capable of doing work above the average. The projects have turned out very well, but it has been necessary to push her to get her to work. Her reaction is always negative. She does not want to do this project or that. Her manner is lackadaisical and she could do much better than she does.

- XII Observation on a class picnic

March, 1936

Betty wore a pretty yellow linen dress, the skirt of which hung loosely, buttoned at the belt, and flared to reveal yellow shorts. She wore Jane's pin with Jane's initials on it. When introduced to people, she giggled and said her name was Joan Easton, pointing to the initials, J. E. Jane thought Betty acted silly and said someone ought to tell her not to behave like that.

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XIII Report of Mr. Ford (mathematics) May, 1936
 Betty is shy, diffident, insecure, and much below our average in attainment. Her troubles this year have been increased by a terrific self-consciousness over her appearance.

XIV Observation on a class picnic by Mrs. Kimball May, 1936
 Betty was quiet and rather subdued, but made a successful attempt to leap over a fence and swam boldly out into the cold lake. On the shore she sat down and pushed herself down to the water with her hands, as little children do. She came back after her swim and gave me a whistle. "Put that in your pocket for me, and don't let anyone touch it." Jane did not come to the picnic as she didn't "think she'd have a good time." Betty played with Ralph. However, she seemed unusually subdued.

XV Report of Mrs. Kimball (physical education) May, 1936
 Betty has improved a great deal this year in interest and effort. She is interested in improving her physique and is very much concerned about her physical appearance.

XVI Academic schedule and semester grades (1935-36)

	First Semester	Second Semester
English	B	B
Social Studies	C	B
Latin	C	C
Mathematics	B	C
Business Studies		

Explanation of Grades:

- A high distinction
- B skillful work
- C adequate work
- D conditioned
- E failure

According to the class average, Betty's academic standing places her in the lowest third of the class.

INTERPRETATION OF OBSERVATIONAL MATERIAL

A few points assume emphasis through their repeated recurrence in teachers' reports and comments. Betty impresses most of the teachers as a girl who has greater ability than is manifested in her accomplishments. "Betty has a good mind which she does not fully utilize" (VII); "Betty has a good mind but seems to be lazy" (VI); "is capable of doing work above the average . . . , she could do much better than she does" (XI).

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The rather obvious discrepancy between her ability and her accomplishment is accompanied by an indifferent attitude toward her work. Nevertheless, Betty accomplishes just enough to pass (XVI) and therefore has never developed into a school problem. The question then arises as to why she does not make a better use of her faculties. Differences in the personality of her teachers may account for some variation in response. But a really satisfactory reply is dependent upon insight into the meaning which academic work has come to assume for Betty. This significance must be sought in the records.

In the first place, a lack of interest and participation is repeatedly noted: "I find Betty timid in class" (IV); "She is not interested in her work, which is both careless and untidy" (VII); "Her reaction is always negative. She does not want to do this project or that" (XI); "Betty is shy, diffident, insecure" (XIII). It is not surprising to see her described as taking the easiest way in order to get by with a minimum of effort. "She's a little slippery, it sometimes seems" (III); "lazy and inclined to play if possible" (VI); "Betty is still inclined to work spasmodically rather than consistently" (VIII); "Her manner is lackadaisical" (XI).

The situation described in the foregoing paragraphs is condensed in the memorandum of Betty's adviser (X). He is looking for a reasonable explanation as to why a girl with an IQ of 129 does so poorly. Her work is inadequate even in subjects in which she is interested (such as physical education, III) or in which she has talent and is capable of accomplishing something (as in art, XI). In physical education she works only with spasmodic efforts. Her art projects "have turned out very well," but Betty does not derive from them any satisfaction which would in turn stimulate her to develop initiative and creativeness. Every teacher feels that she has to be pushed, forced, checked up on: "Can do good work when forced to it" (VI); "needs constant supervision if anything is to be accomplished" (VIII); "it has been necessary to push her to get her to work" (XI).

Several occasions are noted when Betty does well, or when she almost fails. In physical education she is "working very hard" (III); "She wants to reduce her thighs." This interest seems to persist over a number of months; for in May 1936, the report states:

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"Betty has improved a great deal this year in interest and effort. She is interested in 'improving her physique'" (XV). She avoids competitive sports in spite of the fact that, according to the physician's statement (II), she is physically well fitted for them. Her only interest in physical education is that of improving her personal appearance, to offset her self-consciousness. All teachers concerned make statements which indicate that Betty's preoccupation with her appearance has been rather obvious (II). Her effort in physical education (which is favorably mentioned) does not seem to lead to the desired success quickly enough: discouragement there paralyzes her attempts temporarily; or in terms of behavior, she "is still inclined to work spasmodically rather than consistently" (VIII). This is perhaps especially true of those subjects which have a personal significance for her, not only physical education but Latin as well.

Latin is the subject in which Betty has almost failed. She has serious difficulties in it (IV). Her attitude seems different from that in other subjects. She is reported to be "timid" (IV). She needs to be helped, to be tutored. While Betty is ordinarily able to achieve what is necessary for her academic progress, if duly pushed and encouraged, still, in Latin she gives the impression that the language is beyond her power. Betty's "brother had the same difficulty when he first started with Latin but he gradually improved, finally doing very good work" (IV). Is Betty imitating Frank's career in Latin, beginning with poor work, or does his success hamper her advancement in this field? Suggestions that the brother help her with Latin are refused by the mother on the ground "that the two did not get along well enough and that the brother would probably refuse to do it" (IV). In the same conversation the mother "accuses Betty of having a very bad temper at home" (IV). The sequence of this reported conversation merits attention. The mother compares her son and daughter in their achievement in Latin, Frank favorably, Betty unfavorably. A competitive situation appears to exist, in which the mother withdraws from Betty by "accusing" her and defends Frank's refusal to help his sister. It is significant that the mother changes the topic before a satisfactory solution of Betty's difficulty with Latin is reached.

There seem to be a number of problems which are condensed

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in Betty's Latin difficulty. This is further evidenced by her becoming "depressed if her work is poor and very much elated if it is right" (IV). In other subjects her attitude is reported as rather "indifferent" and "lackadaisical." Perhaps Latin is the subject in which success is highly desirable, since it would convince her of being able to accomplish the same as her brother. If this is the case, subject-matter becomes a medium through which she expresses her various feelings toward brother and mother. The investment of incompatible emotional purposes in the learning process might account for her fluctuations of mood, her being "timid, elated, depressed." There seems to be a hidden source of trouble which manifests itself in her Latin course and which is only faintly visible on the basis of the material thus far available. It would not be surprising to learn that her brother is a good mathematician, too. For in that field Betty is described as behaving very much as she does in her Latin course: "shy, diffident, insecure, and much below our average in attainment" (XIII).

Physical education and Latin, then, both show rather obviously the investment of personal feelings and concerns: in physical education Betty's worries about her personal appearance are of foremost importance and in Latin there is some indication that her family relationship is directly related to her difficulty.

Information about the family is scattered through the records. The father is not mentioned by a single teacher, but the mother shows great interest in Betty's education. "The mother has always come to school very often in regard to the children's work; she has attended many meetings of the Parent Teacher Association" (IX). The contacts which the teachers had with the mother led most of them to believe that not only is she interested in Betty's progress, but that she wants to exert a certain directing influence upon her. "Betty is a nice, quiet child, very much dominated by her mother" (IX). The mother wants her daughter to be an academic success, with an intensity of ambition which suggests an excessive amount of push and coercion. "Mother has always insisted on high grades, and now this is Betty's chief interest" (IX). Behind Betty's indifferent and disinterested attitude toward her work may lie a conflict with her mother as a causative factor. Such tension between mother and Betty would necessarily lead to the many

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outbursts at home, which are reported by the mother but which are never evidenced at school. "The mother accuses Betty of having a very bad temper at home, but this has never been observed at school" (IV). This contrasting behavior at home and at school is in itself indicative of a tense home situation. Betty is living two lives: one at home, where she has to fight and is often exposed to great emotional strain; and one at school, where she is quiet, nice, indifferent, with spasmodic efforts to pull herself out of her apathy.

In this connection, her inconsistent attitude toward different teachers, again indicative of problems of personal relationships, is significant. Betty is reported by one teacher, who is a woman, as "insincere and unreliable" (VII). No other teacher has such a serious, moral indictment to bring against her in describing her attitude. Her behavior with this teacher may represent a situation in which Betty transposes a home conflict into the school. However, there is not sufficient evidence on this point.

It is certainly not made easy for Betty to establish herself securely at school because "The mother has always been fairly critical of the school and of the teachers" (IX). The mother shows a peculiar mixture of domination and protection in regard to Betty's academic work. On the one hand, she demands a successful school career; and on the other, she blames the teachers and the school if Betty gets into difficulties. "The mother thinks it is the fault of the school" (X). It is probably this twofold relationship which makes Betty insecure and diffident. The mother "does not approve of Miss Swinton's methods and asked me if I could not do something to change Miss McMullen's attitude, thinking that she was too severe" (IX).

In this connection, Betty's relation to her brother becomes important, as a reflection of her home situation. Frank did "very good work" in Latin; he probably fulfilled his mother's ambitions in other ways as well. The relationship between Betty and Frank is not satisfactory. When the Latin teacher suggested that Frank help Betty with her Latin, the "mother explained that the two did not get along well enough and that the brother would probably refuse to do it" (IV).

The incident at the May Day festival is likewise very revealing (IX): the mother, disregarding the school's regulations, sits down

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in the first row which had been reserved for small children. This lack of tact and sensitivity, in a mother who is interested in the school and in education, is astonishing. Such behavior can be explained only by assuming that she is blinded by pride in her son, who had the leading part in the play, and that she is extremely attached to Frank.

Is this perhaps the root of Betty's lack of belongingness, and her feelings of inadequacy? An answer would require information about the father. This is, unfortunately, lacking in the records. The continued omission of reference to him undoubtedly has significance in itself, though the nature of Betty's relationship to her father cannot be determined. But Betty's relationship to her mother is rather clearly illuminated. Experience has shown that the coincidence of adolescence in girls, and of middle age in mothers (I) who have a dominating personality, is likely to lead to acute complications, very similar in type to those revealed in Betty's behavior.

Still another source of insecurity is repeatedly mentioned throughout the records. Betty is "interested in reducing her weight and keeping a trim figure" (II); she has "focused a great deal of attention upon her body" (II); "She is working very hard on exercises. She wants to reduce her thighs. I think she is beginning to worry about her appearance" (III); "She joined the special exercise group (weight normalizing)" (III); "Her troubles this year have been increased by a terrific self-consciousness over her personal appearance" (XIII); "She is interested in improving her physique and is very much concerned about her physical appearance" (XV). This concern about her appearance develops into an obsessive degree of self-consciousness. Partially responsible for this is the mole which, Betty thinks, makes her face look ugly and repulsive. "She has set great hopes on an operation" (II). Dissatisfaction with her body is pushed into the foreground of her manifest problems.

The knowledge thus far gained suggests that Betty's concern about her personal appearance, her doubt about physical attractiveness and adequacy, is closely related to the problem of accepting herself in a feminine rôle; this is a process which must be aggravated and complicated by the conflict with her mother. There is not

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enough material available in the records to clarify this point directly. But Betty's relationship to girls illustrates very well her insecurity and difficulty in her heterosexual adjustment. Her friend Jane seems to represent an ego-ideal for Betty: there are at least two occasions when she expresses her identification with Jane in a very demonstrative way: "Betty, seen coming out of the locker-rooms, was in high spirits. She was wearing Jane's dress" (V). On the other occasion "She wore Jane's pin with Jane's initials on it. When introduced to people, she giggled and said her name was Joan Easton, pointing to the initials, J. E." (XII). Betty's experimentation with her rôle, her search for the person she wants to be or to become is well expressed in her behavior. The experimental character of such an identification offers her the temporary satisfaction of being one with her friend, and therefore of being in a position to take Jane's popularity and social success as her own. The assumption that Betty's behavior is not merely a joke, but implies some of the underlying purposes as indicated, gains support from Jane's vehement rejection of Betty's behavior: "Jane thought Betty acted silly and someone ought to tell her not to behave like that" (XII). Furthermore, Betty's being in "high spirits" while wearing Jane's dress, or "giggling" when wearing Jane's pin, indicates her own self-consciousness about what she is doing.

At the second picnic mentioned in the records (XIV), Betty is "quiet" and "unusually subdued." Her friend Jane is absent. Betty seems to be preoccupied by some unpleasant feelings. Her attempt to leap a fence, and her swimming boldly out into the cold lake, together with her subdued mood, look very much like a desperate effort to overcome some emotional strain. It is significant that, in such an instance, Betty uses attention-getting devices of a compensatory nature. Her play in the sand is like an imitation of little children's movements: "On the shore she sat down and pushed herself down to the water with her hands as little children do" (XIV). The incident with the whistle adds to this behavior a childish form of giving confidence and needing affection. The depressed mood does not leave her while she plays with Ralph. The meaning of this situation is not entirely clear; nevertheless, the observation contributes to the picture of Betty's personality.

In summary, Betty is a girl who does fair work at school and is

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apt to fail only in Latin. Her indifferent attitude is probably tied up with the home situation and the relationship with her mother, who is a dominant person and curbs Betty's initiative partly by pushing, partly by protecting her. The brother seems to be the favorite in the family; Betty's relationship with him is not satisfactory. The establishment and acceptance of the feminine rôle as a prerequisite to heterosexual adjustment is apparently complicated by the insufficient feeling of belongingness in the family, and is partly worked out by the process of identification with her girl friends. Betty's tension is augmented by self-consciousness and concern about her appearance. This concern has some slight factual basis in a mole which assumes an exaggerated importance.

As a result of these various problems Betty appears diffident, insecure, superficial and indifferent at school, and does not live up to the ability which her teachers feel she possesses.

3. Self-Expressive Material (1935-36) with Interpretation

SELF-EXPRESSIVE MATERIAL (XVII-XXX) ³

XVII English paper (A) September, 1935

How I Have Changed in Two Years

1) Instead of disliking Latin I like it this year. 2) I also like social studies more than last. 3) I believe I act a little older than the last year or the year before last—and turn to different amusements after school than I did. I would rather see a musical show than go to a party which I loved to do last year. I like different movies and am decidedly bored when I see a picture that would have thrilled me last year, but this year I realize are just silly and couldn't happen.

XVIII English paper (F) September, 1935

More Fun for the Kiddies

It was Sunday and the kind of morning that makes you want to sit around and do nothing, but Jack and Bill were tired of doing nothing, which to them meant throwing dried pumpkin seeds at each other.

"Almost hit you in the eye," laughed Jack.

"Did not, you missed by a mile," replied Bill throwing another seed. They had already thrown a half hour away this way. Suddenly Bill got up and ran, Jack got up too, and chased him. Soon they were chasing in and out of the paths in their grandfather's garden. It was a beautiful place. In the middle a fountain played, and a little way back flowerbeds circled around it, then a lawn, with white shells spelling their grandfather's name, and some more flowerbeds. All this was circled by bushes. It was a lovely place in summer, but it was too early even for a little green to show. Suddenly a bright inspiration seized Jack and he and Bill promptly dug away. A few months passed and one bright blue warm spring morning the gardener who was meant to start work on the garden that day, came rushing up to the boys' grandfather.

³ A in parenthesis after title of composition indicates that the writing was assigned; F indicates free writing and a self-chosen topic. Wherever parts of a theme are omitted a footnote will indicate this.

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"Sir," he stammered, "the garden, come look at it, something dreadful has happened." He rushed out with grandfather following him. Grandfather was worried, the garden had been his idea and he was proud of it. He stared at the flowerbeds and then went down on his knees and began glancing under the leaves as if looking for something. His face turned purple with rage; he got up and whirled around until he was facing the gardener.

"Tell me," he shouted, "what is it that's happened, there's nothing here but pumpkin vines!"

XIX English paper (F)

September, 1935

Keep Up the Good Work

"Make it a home run!" the baseball fans were yelling. It was the 9th inning of the final world series game. There were 2 outs and Dick Johnson was up at bat. He was nervous and the thousands of faces peering down at him made him even more so. Dick had been just another rookie the beginning of the season but by his good batting had won himself a place on the front page. This game was everything to him and as he picked his pet bat and stood ready for the ball he bit his lip nervously. The pitcher wound up, strike one, he still had 2 strikes. Strike two, just one more strike and they lost the game. Crack! a white streak curved sharply to the right. Dick was off. He saw nothing but the bases as he passed. One, two, his hopes were raised, maybe it would be a home run. He saw someone signaling but he must be urging him on. Third base and on toward home. The crowd was yelling something, he couldn't make out just what it was. Home at last! He turned to his team mates for congratulations. One of the players turned to him with arm outstretched.

"Swell work," he barked. "It was a foul ball!"

XX English paper (F)

October, 1935

Keep 'em Guessing

He smiled a tooth-paste advertisement smile which went well with his tuxedo. He glided across the room and bowed slightly before some one. A few seconds later they were out on the dance floor. His dancing was very good. She seemed a bit clumsy, but even the worst dancer couldn't help but follow him, as he led divinely. He glided in and out on the crowded dance floor. All the while he danced he smiled at his partner and she smiled back at him. She wasn't very pretty, but he was tall, smooth, and handsome and seemed to have eyes for no one else. The dance ended and he led her back to her seat and again bowing slightly said,

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"50 cents please" or
"could I bring you a drink?"

XXI Betty wrote the following letter while studying the *Odyssey*
(F) November, 1935

Honored Anpocrates,

As a hungry dog leaps for a bone which to his starving body would mean life, only to find it gone or not at all, so watched I the mail for your letter, to be disappointed at finding it not. Aegis-bearing Zeus who is the guardian of all travelers and strangers, to my door brought red-lipped Crindema. As the gentle rain brings water to a dry and wilted flower which has long been without the taste of it, so as the flower greeted rain did I greet Crindema.

When the gods of high Olympus sip their nectar enjoying that which no mortal man may drink, so drank I in her beauty. She stayed with us, and I poured forth libations of the choicest wines. I slit the throats of the choicest swines, and to the earth shaker made offering of a goodly portion, that red-lipped Crindema might in a black hulled ship reach home safely.

The early rose-fingered dawn brought a day long to be remembered by myself and friends. As a person long without the sight of man rushes to welcome one who chances in on him, and then remembers the day for years to come, so felt we when the bard Homer entered the gates of my palace. He sang of Odysseus and his travels, and as the rosy-fingered dawn tinted the wine-dark sea he took his leave of us, hard as we did to make him stay.

Honored friend, may the gods look on you with favor, and as to a hungry man the gods bring food may the speedy comer bring me news of you. When we meet is in the lap of the gods. Zeus grant it may be soon.

Good omens to you.

Elizabethus Foxus

Remarks of Miss Elmer (English): The plan was original with the pupil. The work was done quickly but with much zest. The letter was printed on yellow note paper and an envelope attached was addressed to Anpocrates, Ithaca, marked "Air Mail." A stamp drawn on the corner of the envelope has the figure of a winged creature in blue ink with background of green. Printed horizontally at one side of the stamp is "2 lbs. Ambrosia."

XXII Book report (A)

January, 1936

"Peder Victorius" by Rolvaag

Peder Victorius takes place in Dakota Territory in the latter part of the 19th century. The people's feelings toward the

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division of Dakota into two parts, North and South Dakota, run through the whole book.

What impressed me most, about the book, was the contrast of the mother's feeling of loyalty to Norway (her native land), and her children's desire to be American. An incident that took place a little after Peder started school, clearly portrays this contrast.

Peder had found a very good story in his English book, and was reading it to his sister. His mother was reading a Norwegian paper in a corner.

"Beret looked up and waited till he had finished the story; then she asked him to come and sit down beside her—here she had found an interesting Norwegian story.

At first he pretended not to have heard her. But after a little, slowly and unwillingly, he came shuffling around the table and plumped himself down next to her.

"What is it then?" he asked apathetically.

"You read this to me, my eyes bother me so."

"Huh!" he grunted and was silent.

"You can do that much for your mother, can't you?"

Peder bethought himself long, his whole figure indifferent and miserably bored. When at length he began to read, his voice sounded resentful and was husky with tears. Every other word he hacked to pieces or carelessly mispronounced. The boy acted as though he were being tortured, slowly."

Beret's trying to keep her children interested in Norway and their resistance is what the story is built around.

XXIII Hour by hour diary (A)

February, 1936

<i>Time</i>	<i>What I did</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Friday		
7:25	Woke up and went downstairs after getting dressed to meet the bus.	Was very sleepy
9:00	Had my Latin class—same as usual.	Was very bored
2:30	Left school with Ralph. We got a lift down the hill.	
3:30	I had my exercises and was on time for once.	

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<i>Time</i>	<i>What I did</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
5:00	My piano lesson was a little late and I was rather tired. Didn't eat until late.	
8:00 10:00	After dinner I listened to the radio until I went to sleep.	Very sleepy
Saturday		
9:00	Woke up early because I had to have my hair done. The door bell woke me up.	Very tired
12:30	My hair was not dry when I went out. Arrived at my friend's house where we had lunch.	
2:30	After lunch went down town and had our pictures taken. We also did some shopping. We saw a movie. It was called "Private Worlds" and was rather good.	They are terrible
11:30	Got to bed.	
Sunday		
11:00	Woke up not so early and after getting dressed was told I was going on a picnic.	Not so excited
1:00	We left the house and met the other people we were going with. When we were half over the bridge it began to rain. We kept on anyway.	
2:30 5:00	After eating dinner in the car and playing in the rain we went home.	We were very hungry
5:30	I did my homework, listened to the radio, read a little and went to bed.	
9:30		

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- XXIV English paper (F) February, 1936
There is nothing I like more than whipped cream. For this reason, the white puffy clouds make my mouth water. Yet as I stood watching, the edges of the cloud began to fray and little spots of blue appeared. At this point I glanced away for a second and when I looked up again a swan was lazily gliding over a white dotted lake. It was a very ethereal swan with the "lake" showing through in patches. Soon this too began to disjoin for a brisk breeze blew up and the edges of the cloud were blown into little swirls and they separated from the large one. All that was left now was what looked like a few small puffs of smoke.
- XXV Book report (excerpt) (A)
"Exile" by Pearl Buck
Pearl Buck, in her novel *Exile*, has described the tragedy of Carrie Carter, a missionary, who, wanting passionately to realize that God approved of her, was never permitted to. That which I have just mentioned is truly the author's basic idea (though by no means the most obvious). But Carrie also finds herself out of touch with her children who no longer need her . . .⁴
The title truly expresses the dominant theme of the novel *Exile* or the slow separation of a woman from all she loved or wished to attain . . .⁴
- XXVI Betty personally gave the following poem to Miss Elmer, teacher in English (F) March, 1936
I walked into the garden and the cool night air surrounded me.
I walked into the garden and the cool still pool invited me.
I sat then in our garden.
The cool, still pool and the night was filled with my own glad love.
I remembered last night.
We had walked this way and the grass had been soft beneath our feet
And the moon had been shining, like the love in his eyes.
I glanced into the pool, where I saw the sky—a starry sky, a soft black sky.
And my thoughts were of our happy love.
So I asked the night to talk to me of love and lovers and their thoughts.
And the stars shone and the moon glowed and the night was full of whisperings, and I gave myself to my love.

⁴Part of the theme has been omitted here.

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I walked into the garden and the cool night air surrounded me.
I walked along the garden and the cool, still pool invited me.
I sat there by the pool in the cool night,
And my heart was free, for I loved him not.
And I thought of last night:
We had walked this way and the grass had been soft beneath
our feet,
But the moon had been waning, like the love in his eyes,
And I, too, last night took back my heart, and I glanced into
the pool
And I saw the sky and the sky was filled with its cold, hard
stars
And my heart was filled with contempt for life.
So I asked the night to talk to me of greater, newer things
than love,
And the stars glowed, and the moon shone, but the night was
filled with inquietude.

XXVII English paper (A) April, 1936

Do you like the way *The Rise of Silas Lapham* ends?

Personally I thought the ending of Silas Lapham very satisfactory. He has brought everything to a close; not leaving you wondering, as some books do. I was glad Penelope had married Corey, yet I was not too happy, for there was poor Irene to think about. A good book always can be told by its ending, and this book is no exception . . .⁵

. . . Also the end of the book was not evident in the book, nor given away in the title, as when I finally reached the end I felt a pleasant mixture of gladness and regret. This is I believe the sign of a good book.

XXVIII English paper (F) April, 1936

Marion's lack of color sense was the most noticeable thing about her. At a football game that bright spot of red and periwinkle high up in the grand stand was most likely Marion. Still it was only when you got nearer that the full value of the black hat and gloves with biege shoes overcame you. And then when she reached into her blue bag to draw forth a white compact!!! Well, you realized another use for sunglasses.

XXIX English paper (F) May, 1936

They were both our fish, but while our tropical fish, Pix, with each graceful, languid wave of her translucent fins gave the impression of what every sophisticated, well brought up fish should be, Dix, our minnow with each jerky flip of her murky

⁵ Part of the theme has been omitted here.

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fins gave an idea of what every country fish lacked. Pix seemed aware of her social standing, even seemed aware of the fact that she had been brought north on a large boat, and paid a high price for, while Dix seemed equally unaware that she was lacking in social standing, had been caught by a friend in the country, brought home in a jam jar and given to us. When they were fed, Pix never came to the surface to dine until we had left the room, but Dix darted up as soon as the food touched the water, as if afraid it would be taken away.

XXX Comment about *Arrowsmith* (A) May, 1936
What I will remember longest (altho I will probably remember the book rather clearly for a long time) is the way Martin almost all his life had two opposite sides that were ever at battle. His scientific side longed for a quiet laboratory, good materials and time to do some useful research, while his human side (which through most of the book is on top) wanted to be a socially successful doctor with money and great esteem.

INTERPRETATION OF SELF-EXPRESSIVE MATERIAL⁶

Several trends are immediately apparent in even a cursory reading of Betty's literary efforts. First, there is evident a craving for acceptance, attention, and love; and secondly, although not so directly expressed, a state of inner combat in which divergent tendencies are at work and lead unavoidably to failure and defeat. Betty's diary (XXIII), which covers several days, is impressive by virtue of its monotony and the lack of personal coloring which prevails in the column "What I did." This is especially true in comparison with the diaries of others, and also with the remainder of Betty's own writings. The latter contrast reflects her twofold and widely divergent modes of experience: fantasy life versus daily personal routine. Listed in the diary is a sequence of facts, reported in such a way that school, piano lessons, radio, dinner, shopping, and picnic seem to happen to her as strange and impersonal incidents. They scarcely stimulate Betty to any remarks: it is as if they had not released in her any responses which might overcome her inertia sufficiently to be put down on paper. It is interesting to group all the remarks together. They read: "Was very sleepy. Was very bored. Very sleepy. Very tired. They are ter-

⁶ See Part One, "The case-study approach," pp. 16-18, for a discussion of the elements in writing on which an interpretation can be based.

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rible. Not so excited. We were very hungry." All these remarks are negative; they express only unpleasant feelings or disappointments. This is very characteristic for Betty: the only sensations which she can remember are the unpleasant ones. This trend, expressed in some of her other writings as well, suggests that some unknown defeat or disappointment, hitherto unrecognized, has injured her self-confidence and optimism severely. This, of course, is speculation, expressed only in the search for a probable explanation. At least it does show how Betty's indifferent, diffident, and defeated attitude at school carries over into her entire daily life.

The paper "Keep Up the Good Work" (XIX) goes one step further in expressing the same trend very dramatically. Here Betty describes the extremely humiliating situation of someone's accepting praise and honor, only to find out that success and victory exist merely in his own fantasy. To force the situation to an unbearable degree, Betty describes the "thousands of faces peering down at him," all witnessing his utmost efforts, which are futilely wasted; Dick's foul ball makes his team lose the game. The identification is carried through so convincingly that there seems little doubt at this point that Betty is describing one of her own anxiety situations. There remains one circumstance which still needs to be clarified: her identification with a boy.

In the paper "Keep 'em Guessing" (XX), the same problem is elaborated again, disguised by a humorous and a mysterious ending. It is rather obvious that the girl in Betty's fantasy represents herself. "She wasn't very pretty, but he was tall, smooth, and handsome and seemed to have eyes for no one else." The girl is doubtful about her happiness and she is sceptical about the man's sincerity. Why does he dance with her? When the dance comes to an end, Betty cannot decide how to continue the story. Is he going to ask the girl to pay, because he has been dancing with her not for personal enjoyment, but for money; or is he really interested in spending more time with her, intending to spend money on her and have a drink? The experience of humiliation described in this story is similar to the central theme of the previous one. This time the humiliation is somewhat offset by the devaluating and ridiculous description of the young man who "smiled a tooth-paste advertisement smile which went well with his tuxedo."

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In order to follow up this theme of unexpected humiliations, her English paper (XXVIII) must be considered briefly. There Betty describes a girl who dresses up in such a fashion that she makes a fool of herself, without knowing it however. While her lack of color-sense is obvious to other people, she herself is utterly unaware of it. The satisfaction which Betty gets out of describing the situation is her malicious joy over Marion's color-combinations.

It has become evident that Betty creates in her fantasy a situation which is embarrassing and humiliating to the hero. At the same time, the story represents a gratification which is linked up with a self-protective device. The gratification in the various papers can be isolated and put approximately into the following words: in "Keep Up the Good Work" (XIX): "Even boys can make fools out of themselves, even boys can fail—"; in "Keep 'em Guessing" (XX): "His handsomeness is as cheap as an advertisement; if he doesn't like me I don't lose much—"; in paper XXVIII: "Marion spends much money on her clothes, she is pretty all right, but I have better taste—."

Betty's feeling of uncertainty, due to opposed strivings and tendencies in herself, is very well expressed in her comment about *Arrowsmith* (XXX), a book which appealed to her very much: "I will probably remember the book rather clearly for a long time." She writes: "What I will remember longest . . . is the way Martin almost all his life had two opposite sides that were ever at battle. His scientific side longed for a quiet laboratory . . . while his human side . . . wanted to be a socially successful doctor with money and great esteem."

The process of comparing and contrasting by observations, thoughts, and fantasies—a pattern in which Betty's personal insecurity and self-discontent is manifested—is shown in her writing to a marked degree. Even in such a little sketch (XXIX) as the one about the two fish—the sophisticated, expensive Pix, and the common, country-bred Dix—there is the same pattern evidenced. Wherever Betty looks she sees things in contrast, just as she herself is in contrast to the rest of the world, and swayed by "the two opposite sides [of herself] that were ever at battle." It will prove worth while to examine Betty's writings in this respect.

The thirteen samples of her writings (the diary excepted) can

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easily be classified into two groups: those which portray a satisfactory situation and those which describe and emphasize a contrast (for example, the comparing or contrasting of two people, books, objects, or situations). To the first group belong numbers XVIII, XXIV, and to the second group belong numbers XVII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX of her writings.

In addition to this feeling of separateness from the rest of the world, a feeling which is commonly observed in adolescence, Betty is lacking in initiative and outgoingness. The observational data suggested that this tendency may result from unsatisfactory relationships in the family. In this connection it is interesting to read her book review on *Exile* (XXV). "Pearl Buck, in her novel *Exile*, has described the tragedy of Carrie Carter, a missionary, who, wanting passionately to realize that God approved of her, was never permitted to. That which I have just mentioned is truly the author's basic idea (though by no means the most obvious)." Betty has picked out this theme: a woman's vain search for approval (love) as the kernel of the tragedy. This is her personal interpretation, and "by no means the most obvious" idea of the author. But it is "basic," underlying all the minor happenings and adventures of Carrie Carter. It is basic for Betty, too.

The book report about *Peder Victorius* (XXII) must be mentioned at this point. "What impressed me most, about the book, was the contrast of the mother's feeling . . . and her children's desire . . ." Betty then quotes an incident where little Peder is forced by his mother to read a Norwegian story. Again there is the contrast between two people, in this instance mother and child, whose incompatible desires seem most impressive to her.

This is a reflection of Betty's second great problem, which is expressed in her desire for security, love, and acceptance. In the poem (XXVI), her desire presents itself as a conflict. There is a wish for love and at the same time there is a great fear of it: "And my thoughts were of our happy love . . . And my heart was free for I loved him not." What seems in the beginning to be sincere love and perfect happiness ("So I asked the night to talk to me of love and lovers and their thoughts . . . and I gave myself to my love"), reveals itself at the end to be a mere delusion ("But

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the moon had been waning, like the love in his eyes, and I, too, last night took back my heart"). The renunciation of her own love, the disillusionment about her lover, the rejection of her complete desire for love force her finally to seek satisfaction in other directions: "So I asked the night to talk to me of greater, newer things than love." But there is nothing which can replace this desire for belongingness and love, no newer, no greater things can be attempted without leaving discouragement and anxiety in their path. "And my heart was filled with contempt for life . . . the night was filled with inquietude."

Looking at the poem in the light of all the material, it is again the use of contrast as a structural element which attracts attention, together with unavoidable frustration or renunciation as the only possible solution. In other words, Betty never expects to get what she passionately wants. She is already accustomed to expect frustration as the ultimate result of all her strivings. This may be the root of her indifferent and diffident attitude, previously mentioned in the observational material. The poem describes states of exaltation and depression, and represents, through what Betty has described elsewhere (XXVII) as the sign of a good book, a "pleasant mixture of gladness and regret."

The same indecisiveness and instability expressed in the poem manifest themselves in each situation in which Betty has to play an active part in order to succeed. Her mere wish to accomplish something in any field seems enough to paralyze her effort. The same reactive tendency repeats itself in personal or social relationships, intellectual activities, or creativeness. She wants and wishes but she is afraid of failure, rejection, and disappointment.

Betty's craving for love and appreciation is further expressed in the paper "Keep 'em Guessing" (XX). Here she elaborates the situation of being asked for a dance by a handsome young man; in spite of being a bit clumsy, she "couldn't help but follow him, as he led divinely. . . . All the while he danced he smiled at his partner and she smiled back at him. She wasn't very pretty, but he was tall, smooth, and handsome and seemed to have eyes for no one else." The stereotyped end of this pleasant situation, previously mentioned, gains significance in the light of the other papers.

In this connection Betty's letter to Anpocrates is of interest

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(XXI). Camouflaged under Homer's language she gives expression to her incessant craving for love and her everlasting disappointment. This piece of writing has to be stripped of its wordiness in order to get to the simple content which is behind it. The letter begins with a complaint to Anpocrates who does not write, who is disappointing her, who is letting her "starve." As a substitute for Anpocrates, there appears Crindema, a woman. The only thing Betty has to say about her is to praise her beauty: "so drank I in her beauty." This is reminiscent of Betty's identification with Jane, an identification which also represents a substitute for her relationship with boys. The latter relationship is connected for Betty with many fears.

The last paragraph of the letter ties up with the beginning; it contains a renewed petition for a response. In tracing the underlying trends in this spontaneously written letter, there emerges an exact repetition of the feelings expressed in her poem. The obstinacy and consistency with which such trends manifest themselves in different forms of writings is to a certain extent indicative of the psychological importance these trends assume in the girl's personality.

One theme in the letter and in the poem should be discussed here: the fact that Betty daydreams a great deal about being accepted by boys and on the other hand prevents such fantasies from coming to fulfillment is of significance. The relationship to boys seems to contain an element of danger for Betty. That probably accounts for her avoidance of parties (XVII). At a party she has to establish a relationship with boys and to compete with other girls. The observational material has already given rise to the tentative opinion that it is Betty's insecurity in her feminine rôle which forces her into an identification with her girl friend. Betty's writings furnish further evidence on this point. In several papers she writes about a boy; her identification with the hero is easily recognizable. In "Keep Up the Good Work" (XIX) this identification and its secondary satisfaction has already been mentioned. The struggle of accepting her sex rôle is probably a prominent concern of Betty's at the time.

The same theme of changing sex rôles is more convincingly expressed in "More Fun for the Kiddies" (XVIII). There two boys

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get into mischief while playing in their grandfather's garden. Jack and Bill are probably Frank and Betty. The two little boys are united in their effort to play a trick on an adult (representing a parent). The description of the garden and its early-spring atmosphere is very well done; in fact this paper is almost the only one which has a satisfactory end for the hero, and does not contain any disappointment or contrast. It is a childhood dream full of security, boyishness, and fun. Betty herself is a boy; she is a good friend of her brother and with the help of this ally she brings adults into a "rage" through such a harmless joke as planting pumpkin vines in flowerbeds.

The book report of *Peder Victorius* (XXII) deserves consideration in this connection, too. The situation which Betty chooses as a quotation characteristically describes a little boy rebelling against his mother.

The only writing which has not been taken into account is paper XXIV. Striking after a first reading is the fact that a "white puffy cloud" makes Betty's mouth water because she is fond of whipped cream. Though this is too isolated an association to be meaningful, the occurrence of whipped cream, ambrosia, of food and hunger (in the Anpocrates paper) is noteworthy. Perhaps further material will place this fantasy in its proper context.

As compared with the observational material, interpreted and summarized at the end of the preceding section, Betty's writing during this period seems to add nothing essentially new. Yet in one respect further evidence has been secured: the dominant forces in Betty's personality, and how they necessarily lead to the behavior described in the observational material, have become progressively clearer. The various manifestations at school can now be reduced to a few sources of psychological impact: they are shown to be reactive tendencies which function as self-protective and self-defensive devices. In other words, Betty expects frustration for each effort of hers which may lead to some sort of satisfaction. In order to avoid this disappointment, she gives up the effort, and renounces the desire to have any of her wishes fulfilled. The material suggests that the renunciation is partly an expression of her ambivalent attitude toward the feminine rôle. This

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ambivalence⁷ is clearly expressed in her writings, and may account for some of the other divergent tendencies which seem to be at work in her.

It has been pointed out how dominant a rôle the use of contrast, as a structural element, plays in Betty's writings. This seems to reflect a psychological condition. The basis of her conflict in accepting the feminine rôle lies to some extent in an unsatisfactory relationship with her mother; this is at least a contributing and perhaps a causative factor. The relationship to her father is rather obscure, nowhere entering clearly into the material.

Betty's problems are twofold, according to the foregoing interpretation: they are, first, her feeling of being rejected by the mother; and, second, her outspoken ambivalence toward the feminine rôle. On the basis of this condition, acute problems develop, such as her reluctance and insecurity with boys and her indifferent and diffident attitude toward her academic work. At the present time she concentrates her fear and insecurity on the mole on her cheek and makes her personal appearance in general responsible for the whole state of affairs. She concludes, then, that removal of the mole, which, objectively considered, does not disfigure her as much as she thinks, will finally solve all of her problems.

It becomes convincingly clear that Betty's weakness in academic work is only an outgrowth of her general situation. It is beyond her conscious control to pull herself together in order to raise the level of her work. The learning process has become burdened with secondary purposes which have diverted her energies and stifled her abilities. Betty's intellectual activities are afflicted in the same way as her personal relationships. She does her best work in the subjects which are not so heavily loaded with implications of a conflicted personal nature.

Because of her emotional and idiosyncratic investment in learn-

⁷ "Ambivalence denotes contradictory emotional attitudes toward the same object either arising alternately, or existing side by side without either one interfering necessarily with or inhibiting the expression of the other." William Healy, Augusta F. Bronner, and Anna May Bowers, *The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), p. 20.

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ing and subject-matter, purely didactic or curricular changes have scarcely affected Betty's attitude. Perhaps the situation can be remedied only on the basis of a personal relationship, for the fundamental conflicts which account for her attitudes are seated there. The teacher of physical education is probably the one who could effect this contact most successfully. She has shown interest and appreciation of Betty, and Betty has participated eagerly in her field. On the other hand, the English teacher had reason to believe that Betty reached out for her; she gave her a spontaneously written letter (XXI) as well as a poem (XXVI). Taking into consideration Betty's ability for writing English—sustained by appreciation and encouragement—this teacher may have opened a field for Betty to experience achievement, invaluable as a corrective to her pervasive attitude of defeat.

4. Observational Material (1925-35) with Interpretation

OBSERVATIONAL MATERIAL (XXXI-LIV)

1925-26, Kindergarten III. Age 4-11

Teachers' estimates:

XXXI

November, 1925

Betty is a very interesting and original child. At the beginning she was quite underhanded. I believe it was chiefly to attract attention. She has improved greatly and has not told a lie or been underhanded for several weeks.

XXXII

December, 1925

After a few weeks of improvement Betty lied again a great deal. Again became extremely underhanded. She told her mother that she had made an ashtray out of clay at school. After having asked her several times to bring it home, without response (Betty had told her she was not allowed to take it home) mother arranged a conference with me. Mother was very surprised to find out that Betty had not made an ashtray and commented finally, "Well, I think she will take after a close relative in our family who is a liar too."

XXXIII

February, 1926

Her clay work is exceedingly good. She certainly shows surprising technique for her age. She is generous, courteous and very coöperative. She shows a great deal of initiative in everything she does.

Betty eats and rests well. She is very helpful at the table by the good example she sets.

She is gradually losing her consciousness of adults and as a result she concentrates much more on her work. Has not told a lie for a long time.

XXXIV

May, 1926

Betty has done unusually good work on her project. Her woodwork and sewing are excellent.

She has become one of the most dependable children in the group. She concentrates much better, even though she

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is still very self-conscious when an adult is in the room. Betty's underhandedness has completely disappeared.

1926-27, Grade I.⁸ Age 5-11

Teachers' estimates:

XXXV

February, 1927

Betty continues to do splendid work in rhythms. Her enthusiasm for the work is keen. She enjoys being with the group and is coöperative in play with other children. She likes to paint and draw and needs encouragement to attempt working in shop. Contributes rhymes and stories to the school newspaper. Much interested in reading. Is able to read independently with little help. Betty likes her own way often, in spite of how it may affect others. By this I mean she needs to be more punctual in meeting obligations. A co-operative worker.

XXXVI

May, 1927

Has shown an attitude of preferring to do the opposite of what has been suggested. Shows a negativistic attitude—does not show much interest and prefers small group activity. Is not as much a part of the group socially as during the first part of the year. Has been absent with whooping cough all March and April. Due to her sickness she is not up to grade standards.

1927-28, Grade II. Age 6-11

Teachers' estimates:

XXXVII

May, 1928

Betty is a popular member of the group. She is a good sport and plays well with other children. She is generous and thoughtful. She contributes many helpful suggestions to the group. She is usually obedient. She is alert and interested in her work. At first she had difficulty in concentration, during group work in subjects such as spelling and arithmetic. She is eager to learn however, and is trying to hold herself to her work. She sometimes keeps the group waiting when everyone else is ready for group discussion . . . needs to learn to come quickly when called to the group.

Betty is rather an individualist. She plays well with the group and the children like her.

Betty is interested in making plays. She has made some lovely rhymes and likes to make stories. She feels the rhythm

⁸ Elementary school was attended at the same school as kindergarten.

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in poetry. She shows this in her efforts at making poems. She likes to draw and paint pictures.

1928-29, Grade III. Age 7-11

Teachers' estimates:

XXXVIII

February, 1929

Betty has greatly improved in the tool subjects. We are giving her extra help in reading and she is now interested in books. She has improved in arithmetic and seems to like it now. Her writing is still rather untidy but she is trying to improve in that also. She has done some good art work this year. She has done good work in creative expression. She is developing a feeling of responsibility which is carrying over not only in her school work but on trips also.

XXXIX

March, 1929

Betty is up to standard of the grade in all her work as shown by the February tests. She has greatly improved in reading and arithmetic. Her writing is neater and more legible.

XL

April, 1929

Her art work is good. She has a very fine sense of color. She still needs to work on her voice. Sometimes when telling an exciting experience her voice is apt to become very loud.

XLI

May, 1929

Betty has shown marked progress in her work this year. She has also grown in the ability to control herself. Her work is satisfactory and she is ready to enter the fourth grade.

1929-30, Grade IV. Age 8-11

Teachers' estimates:

XLII

February, 1930

Betty has been difficult to work with until very recently because of a complaining attitude towards the other children. Is she being pampered at home? With the introduction of more serious problems and more grown-up responsibilities, this is gradually disappearing. Betty has been very self-conscious before the class. This actually prevents her better faculties from functioning. At moments when she forgets herself, she does some very fine thinking and shows fine judgment.

Social studies: There was a tendency in the beginning for Betty to pick up threads of ideas around the room. She is

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slowly learning to stand on her own feet and develop her own ideas.

Arithmetic: Very slow work, progress hindered by her worrying about what the class is thinking and doing.

Art: The quality of Betty's work suffers through self-consciousness. She needs to be herself more.

Music: Still has difficulty singing in tune. She seems to hear the music correctly but yet is unable to reproduce what she hears. She gives her best in effort and attention.

XLIII

March, 1930

Betty's general demeanor has changed for the better and is somewhat responsible for the good results which she has enjoyed. There has been very little evidence of the self-consciousness which was so marked in the beginning of the year. Her contributions to class discussions are most valuable and excellent.

The achievement test results show good work in all the branches with the exception of spelling. Extra time and practice is being given in this through remedial work at school.

XLIV

May, 1930

Betty is rapidly gaining in self-confidence and is showing good, interested, careful work. This is a great improvement over her work in the beginning of the year. She is very well adjusted socially and has raised her position in the group to that of a well-thought-of and loved member of the class. Betty needs every opportunity given her where she might excel. She wants the approval and esteem from her classmates and teacher and gives the best that is in her immediately after such successful efforts.

1930-31, Grade V. Age 9-11

Teachers' estimates:

XLV

January, 1931

Betty has done some outstanding work along creative lines this year. Her poetry is delightful and some of her art work shows both a sense of design and of color.

In her academic work Betty has definite weaknesses. She is inclined to work too hurriedly and too carelessly. Our achievement tests show that Betty is below the standard for the fifth grade in dictation, arithmetic, and geography. We shall give her more help in arithmetic and in spelling at school. Her geographical knowledge can be widened by having her read material with a geographical background

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and by encouraging her to consult the map as she reads. Betty seems very happy in her work and is a very responsible member of the group. She is a leader in the class by the choice of the group. Her self-consciousness is still evident, and occasionally I notice a rather "babyish" quality in her speech.

XLVI

March, 1931

Betty shows a tendency to respond only to praise. She does not like criticism that is adverse and reacts poorly to it. Her carelessness is her greatest drawback in her written work in all subjects. She continues to do good creative work.

XLVII

May, 1931

I continue to feel that Betty is capable of better work than she has done. I wonder how much of this is a reflection of her mother's dissatisfaction over her lack of a double-promotion. Betty is careless and hasty about her work although her comments and her creative work show the power of real thought and reflection. Betty seems self-conscious and spoiled.

XLVIII Note from Mrs. Harrison (Grade V) to principal

February, 1931

Betty seems never to have gotten over the hurt which came from not receiving a double-promotion. She shows this by an undue aggressiveness at home, too great an eagerness to assert herself, she is always on the defensive, is very sensitive to criticism, quarrelsome, asks whether she will get a double-promotion if she works very hard. This continues in spite of all my explanations about the undesirability of such a step. Now Betty's mother wishes to know whether it is advisable to tutor her during the summer in preparation for Grade VII.

Mother was told that it was much more important to strengthen Betty's confidence in herself so that she may not react so painfully to disappointments or grievances than to undo this particular piece of imagined injustice. Nevertheless the writer promised to look into this matter, observe Betty, talk to her, and report.

XLIX Poems, written while in Grade V

The Lamb

Come, little lamb you have eaten much,
Rest your little head upon the straw,
Now you are mine for you have left your mother,
Little white lamb are you lonely?

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The Helpless Leaves

Oh frost, do not torment me as I lie here about to die,
Here lie all my friends frost bitten and brown,
They're helpless since they left the tree.
Our mother oak can't help us and here we lie.
Oh frost, do not torment me,
Here I lie helpless and about to die.
The leaves are turning red and brown,
Falling on the roof tops of the town,
Turning and twirling to the ground
Making a whispering sound.

The Storm

Leave me in peace, oh sea!
Your waves are crashing on my rocks.
The sea is foaming, blowing my sea-weed hair.
My fishes are leaving the surface.
Hear my cries, oh sea.
Leave me in peace!

The Storm

Black was the water when the wild winds blew.
And in the dark a traveler flew,
Upon his horse who was filled with fear
Of that terrible wind that blew.
And in a boat a sailor rocked,
Whose heart was filled with fear.
Then all of a sudden a blue streak ran
Across the dark black night.
And thunder crashed against the sky,
And the trees shook in their fright.
But I was safe as safe can be
In my house at night,
Listening to the rain
That was howling, that night.

1931-32, Grade VI. Age 10-11

Teachers' estimates: (composite summary)

- L There has been a marked change in Betty this year. She is now interested and earnest, and anxious to do well, but careless habits still persist and keep her from attaining the good results her mind is capable of. She is still sometimes inattentive and apparently incapable of handling the work when her attention has been forced.

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1932-33, Junior High School,⁹ Grade VII. Age 11-11

LI Estimate of Miss Young (Betty's adviser) February, 1933
Betty found it difficult to adjust herself to new conditions and to work independently and persistently. Recently she has displayed keen interest and has worked faithfully. . . . She is a rather slow but conscientious worker. In spite of her interest her work is sometimes carelessly done. . . .

LII Betty's attitude toward her work has improved decidedly. She is much more independent and serious. She seems to have greater confidence in herself. She has done much to improve the appearance of her work. . . . Miss Ward (physical education) says: "Betty is not very attentive and accomplishes accordingly—not good, not bad."

1933-34, Grade VIII. Age 12-11

LIII Estimate (composite summary) of Mrs. Abott (Betty's adviser)

Betty is difficult to know. Never looks you in the eye. She is perfectly well mannered at school, but atrocious stories of her behavior on the bus, her loudness and vulgarity have been reported. Teachers are not recognized by her and a few other girls if they are met on the street. All these girls are having difficulty with their parents. Betty's mother has been very rigid, not allowing her to go to parties. When she finally was allowed to attend a dance, no one asked her to dance and Betty blamed her mother for not having sent her to dancing school. The mother blames other girls' influence for the difficulty she has with Betty. Betty is very sensitive about her appearance. She has a longing to be beautiful—which she is not—and popular—which she is not. Betty's work has been satisfactory; it showed great improvement over last year both in effort and achievement. But every teacher still feels that she is not using her real ability. She is nervous and bites her nails.

1934-35, Grade IX. Age 13-11

LIV Estimate (composite summary) of Mrs. Pearl (Betty's adviser)

Betty is a clever girl, rather witty and volatile but shows her native ability only in spurts. It is hard for her to sustain attention or even interest very long at a time. Her comments

⁹ Promotion to Grade VII was accompanied by a change of school.

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and an occasional piece of interesting work show that she is a gifted girl. She is somewhat loud in her manners . . . She is a cheerful, light-hearted, careless and carefree girl. In spite of this she does fairly well in her work. . . . Latin seems to give her the greatest trouble.

INTERPRETATION OF OBSERVATIONAL MATERIAL

The school records cover a period of ten years, and the material therefore requires a different kind of evaluation from that previously offered. Manifestations which are scattered over a long period of time cannot be equivalently evaluated: their meaning differs in accordance with the age at which they occurred; stealing and lying, for example, have a connotation at five years entirely different from that at twelve years of age. Three developmental phases—early childhood, middle childhood, and adolescence—are included in these school records. For this reason it seems advisable to follow them chronologically.

When Betty enters kindergarten, she is “quite underhanded” (XXXI). The tendency seems to come and go: she “has not told a lie or been underhanded for several weeks” (XXXI); “After a few weeks of improvement Betty lied again a great deal” (XXXII); “Has not told a lie for a long time” (XXXIII). On the other hand, she seems to be very well adjusted to the school and the group (XXXIII).

Interestingly enough, Betty lies to her mother about an ashtray which she made (XXXII). It is not possible to determine Betty’s reasons for this act; perhaps she had fantasied making something which her mother would admire. But the teacher’s report reveals a great deal about the mother’s relationship to her child. In a conversation with the teacher about Betty’s lying, the mother says: “Well, I think she will take after a close relative in our family who is a liar too.” Instead of examining herself, to find out how her treatment of Betty contributes to the need for lying and how to help the child, she blames everything on heredity. It sounds as if the mother has taken the misconduct with as little personal concern as though the child under consideration were not her own. The mother’s resignation in the face of her five-year-old’s undesirable behavior must have a serious history leading up to it. The nature

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of that history is not known; yet the inference may be safely drawn that Betty lacks fundamental security and warmth at home.

Her relationship to adults is undoubtedly conflicted. In addition to lying, she is "very self-conscious when an adult is in the room" (XXXIV); the presence of a grown-up is enough to upset her self-content and her security. It is interesting to note that Betty ceases to lie as soon as she feels less fearful of adults (XXXIV); lying, at that age a common symptom of lack of security, often constitutes an attempt at self-assertion. Her self-consciousness and the lying disappear simultaneously, because they are linked emotionally.

Betty's improved attitude carries over into the first grade, where she works, plays, paints, and draws with enthusiasm. The only activity in which she needs outside encouragement is in shop. But, at the end of the year, another undesirable attitude has established itself. She reveals "an attitude of preferring to do the opposite of what has been suggested. Shows a negativistic attitude—does not show much interest. . . . Is not as much a part of the group socially as during the first part of the year" (XXXVI). This change in Betty is probably connected with her prolonged absence and sickness.

Entering the second grade, Betty succeeds in overcoming her negativistic attitude after some initial difficulties in concentration (XXXVII). She is again a popular member of the group and progresses in her work. She develops a special interest in plays and in poetry-writing, which she maintains during the following years. Her even progress persists throughout the third grade as well.

In the fourth grade a new phase of self-consciousness is observed. Betty does not keep pace with the group, because she constantly compares herself to the rest of the class. "Betty has been very self-conscious before the class. . . . Very slow work, progress hindered by her worrying about what the class is thinking and doing. . . . The quality of Betty's work suffers through self-consciousness" (XLII). Her mother is expecting a double promotion for Betty at the end of the fourth grade; and it is very likely that this pressure accounts to a great extent for the change in Betty's behavior as described by the teachers. Toward the end of the year this outbreak of self-consciousness has subsided and Betty is

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reported as "very well adjusted socially" (XLIV). Remedial work has been given to her in spelling (XLIII). Betty's search for approval and esteem has been noticed by the teacher who reports that she "gives the best that is in her immediately after such successful efforts" (XLIV).

Up to the fifth grade Betty has been able to achieve fair success, but now she begins to fall behind in her academic work. She is "below the standard for the fifth grade in dictation, arithmetic and geography" (XLV). "Her self-consciousness is still evident" and her response can be released only by praise. The child creates an impression of being more tense and less stable than before. An explanation offers itself in the fact that the mother has been very much disappointed over the lack of a double promotion (XLVII). This home situation reflects itself in Betty's work and work-habits. The double promotion must have acquired significance of great emotional value for Betty. It seems very likely that she expected from it a complete change of status in her family. Her hope for renewed approval from her mother is shattered. Betty reacts to the "imagined injustice" very violently. "She shows this by an undue aggressiveness at home, too great an eagerness to assert herself, she is always on the defensive, is very sensitive to criticism, quarrelsome" (XLVIII). Betty cannot live up to her mother's expectations; the last chance to assure herself of her mother's approval is taken away. Without doubt the brother enters into this picture, but insufficient material prevents any reconstruction of the rôle he plays. This is unfortunate, for, in view of her reaction, the situation probably represents a crucial issue for the child.

In connection with this emotionally disturbing experience, attention must be paid to the development of Betty's creative power. She "has done some outstanding work along creative lines. . . . Her poetry is delightful" (XLV). The four poems (XLIX) deal throughout with situations of loneliness and helplessness. It is not difficult to penetrate the meaning of "The Lamb" and "The Helpless Leaves": their theme is the motherless child.

"Now you are mine for you have left your mother,
Little white lamb are you lonely?"

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and

"They're helpless since they left the tree.
Our mother oak can't help us and here we lie.

Here I lie helpless and about to die."

Both storm poems describe situations in which fear and fright stand in the foreground. The power of language revealed in Betty's description of the uproar of the elements is remarkable. She gives expression here to the uproar in her own self, and to the anxiety which it releases. The coincidence of her unusual creative power and the emotionally upsetting experience of the denied double promotion is noteworthy.

From the sixth grade on, the records become very meager, but it seems as if she has overcome the difficulties which had developed before (L). Entering junior high school puts a new strain on her adaptability (LI), but toward the end of the year she apparently gains greater confidence. Nevertheless, she begins to develop an indifferent attitude, which makes her work "not good, not bad" (LII). The impression that Betty is not using her real ability, repeatedly recorded before, persists throughout the eighth grade.

With the onset of pubescence, a series of apparently new traits manifests itself. Betty separates her school from the rest of her life. She is perfectly well mannered at school but loud and vulgar in the company of her age-mates, and does not recognize her teachers on the street. This behavior has its roots in the family situation, where the relationship between mother and daughter becomes as tense as it had been in kindergarten. Betty begins to be concerned about her appearance and popularity. Her inability to cope with the situation makes her nervous. She takes to biting her nails (LIII).

The ninth-grade estimate seems somewhat incomplete. In general, Betty appears to be better adjusted; no longer does she avoid contacts with teachers. "She is a cheerful, light-hearted, careless and carefree girl" (LIV). In her work she "shows her native ability only in spurts" and Latin becomes "the greatest trouble" with which Betty has to deal in her academic program.

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This brief historical survey suggests that some of the trends noted in the previous interpretations are of long standing; it is not difficult to extend their history back into Betty's childhood. Thus the two problems which seemed outstanding in her adolescence (conflict with mother and ambivalence toward her own sex) are already apparent in the kindergarten. At the age of five, Betty lies and is ill at ease with adults. The self-consciousness results from Betty's fear of being overlooked and neglected, as well as from her wish to attract attention by being nice and cute. It indicates a lack of security, resulting in an overconcern about the impression she makes upon people and in a constant comparison of her own accomplishments with those of other children. Betty's lying can probably be understood in relationship to these factors. Unfortunately the content and occasion of her frequent lies are not reported. They may indicate a withdrawal from unpleasant reality to a fantasy world in which she finds the satisfactions for which she strives. However, Betty is so intelligent that she cannot help but be aware of the discrepancy between fantasied and real attainment. From what is known about the mother's relationship to Frank (IX) and Betty's deprivation of affection (XLIX), it may be concluded that most of the mother's affection has been concentrated on the boy. This would account for Betty's self-consciousness, her concern with being a girl, and her belief that only boys can be loved by their mothers. In time she becomes so sensitive to criticism in general that she can work only when given praise, approval, or esteem.

It is interesting to see how the manifestations of Betty's problems vary, temporarily disappear, and only partly affect her behavior. She is underhanded but nevertheless coöperative and generous. The apparent inconsistency or isolation of traits is characteristic of young children. While Betty is in the fourth grade, her mother expects a double promotion for the child, which she does not achieve. The denial of promotion upsets Betty completely (XLVIII). Her emotional instability increases, and she escapes it through a partial regression, a return to infantile modes of behavior. By doing so, she denies her ambitions and renounces obligations imposed on her by her mother. This tendency is evidenced by the fact that she takes on a "rather babyish quality in her speech" (XLV).

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The denial of a double promotion tears open the scar of inadequacy and inability, which has never healed completely. From this point on her work becomes poorer, and she drops behind. It is a defeat from which she never recovers. The effect of this year of strain upon her creative power has already been mentioned. Betty's apparently indifferent attitude toward her work prevails from here on and comments are to the effect that she is not using her "real ability." She is "not good, not bad."

During the eighth grade, the first adolescent indications appear. Again she becomes self-conscious, loud, vulgar, rejects adults (teachers), blames her mother for her disappointment at her first party; the mother in turn blames Betty's company for her unreasonable behavior. There is a repetition, on another age level, of the same basic conflicts which were already apparent in kindergarten. The unresolved state in which these conflicts remained makes Betty's entrance into adolescence especially difficult, a finding already substantiated by the previous records and their interpretation.

It has indeed become progressively clearer that the behavior, attitudes, and emotional situation described in Betty's tenth-grade record are not new and original, but can be traced backwards to the kindergarten period. There the recorded traces end; unfortunately so, for it is likely that their origins extend far back into Betty's preschool life. In many respects, it has been impossible to complete the picture, because of lack of information; but in spite of that, these early records have given meaning and coherence to some of the isolated characteristics observed through the medium of Betty's tenth-grade writings and reports, showing them to be related and recurrent trends in her developing personality.

5. School Records in the Light of the Family History

INTERVIEW MATERIAL CONCERNING FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Thus far Betty's personality has been revealed through records, and through creative writing, which constitutes a part of school activities. Such material is obtainable in almost every school, and by routine procedures. The conclusions drawn may leave many readers unconvinced, and may be considered by others to be speculative and unfounded. In order to check on the validity of the interpretative techniques used in the foregoing presentation, additional material will be considered. This may serve also to fill some of the gaps noted in the account of Betty's family history.

The following data are obtained from interviews with Betty and her mother. There were, in all, ten interviews with Betty and three with her mother, scattered over a period of one and a half years (November, 1934 to April, 1936).¹⁰ Betty's age is indicated throughout the text in parentheses. This condensed information throws further light upon Betty's early years and her relationship to the different members of the family, as these are remembered by the mother and the child herself.

Betty was born at full term after a normal pregnancy and labor. She was breast fed for nine months and bottle fed for six months thereafter; there were no difficulties in weaning or feeding. She walked (11 months) and talked (first words at 6 months) at less than a year, and teethed at the usual time. Toilet habits were established at an early age. She did suck her thumb, but this never became a real problem.

Betty was a very attractive child and her mother dressed her

¹⁰ The person conducting the interviews with both mother and Betty was a woman of thirty-one. She is referred to hereafter as the worker.

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with great care. She had beautiful long curls and a charming face. During Betty's attendance of first grade, her curls were cut off; this deprived her of some of her attractiveness. In the second term, she became ill with whooping cough (6-6). Complications developed and prevented her from returning to school for several months. During this period she became very much spoiled because all emotional irritation had to be avoided. By the time Betty was able to return to school, she had undergone a marked change in her physical appearance and had become a thin, pale, and sallow child. "She was an awful-looking sight," the mother said, referring to the time of convalescence. Betty never regained her previous charm.

The prolonged sickness exerted a deep influence upon her. Betty was a different child after recovery, and her parents were very much discouraged. She was irritable, sensitive, quarrelsome and did not answer questions through fear of being wrong. Her work at school was poor. She would come home and say, "I am dumb, but I am not the dumbest in the class." At that time her brother was doing not only good, but distinctive work at school; this stood out in sharp contrast to Betty's achievements. She had always shown great admiration for her brother and had rivaled him in attention and accomplishment.

Betty's change after her illness was so marked that it upset her mother severely. She ceased to be the sweet and pleasant child her mother remembered her to have been before the change took place. The mother herself could not help feeling differently toward the child. Betty got into trouble with everybody in the household, whereas her relationship to people before had been fairly satisfactory. She made unreasonable demands or expressed unforeseen ideas which upset her family. For example, she asked for a cocktail when guests were served, or unexpectedly used her fingers to help herself at the table when guests were present. On one occasion, one of the guests expressed her disapproval of such uncontrolled behavior. Betty replied, "If you don't like my manners, I don't care. These are the manners my mother taught me. If they are good enough for her, they are good enough for you" (6-11).

Betty carried each argument as far as possible until in the end she usually had to be asked to leave the room. This she did crying. At other times she had to be carried out and forced to stay in an-

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other room. Regarding her handling of Betty, the mother said, "I was firm with her. When she didn't want to obey, I forced her, and, of course, she was my child and whether she liked it or not, she did it."

Many similar scenes of unreasonable behavior occurred after her seventh year. The mother grew so discouraged that she used to go out alone and cry for an hour without letting anyone know about her trouble. She became so embarrassed about her daughter that she tried to keep her away from people, in order to conceal from the world what a nasty and horrid child she had.

During this difficult period Betty used to ask her mother, "Do you love me?" The mother would reply, "Of course I love you. I don't think that you are nice or that you are good, but I love you just the same. If I have to sneeze, can I help sneezing? You are my child, and can I help loving you?"

At that time, Betty was never satisfied with anything that she received; as soon as she obtained what she wanted and her wish was fulfilled, her interest in it declined. When she was in the third grade, she nagged and cried for one whole year to get piano lessons. Her mother finally consented and made arrangements, but Betty never practised enough to progress with her music in the years that followed.

After the denial of a double promotion, a new storm of misbehavior broke out (8-9). During this time her mother wrote a letter to Betty beginning, "My darling daughter." Betty crossed out these words and put above them, "My hateful child." She also wrote across the letter, "Why aren't you honest? You know you hate me." This letter was discovered later, by accident. During the same period, a picture of her mother, which hung in Betty's room, was found covered up with a piece of paper torn out of a magazine.

The mother always felt very proud of and very affectionate toward her son, Frank: her picture of him has always been that of a completely ideal child. This feeling increased as Betty continued to inflict disappointments upon her after her illness. Frank had always been brilliant and outstanding in school; he shared his mother's likes and dislikes in matters of esthetics and morals. He chose the friends, read the books, and liked the entertainments of

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which his mother approved. Betty, in her mother's opinion, had cheap tastes in everything. The mother censured her choice of friends, books, interests, and entertainments. She respected Frank for his refined taste and the depth of his personality, but felt unable to share any of her ideas and ideals with Betty. She admired Frank and tolerated Betty.

It is interesting to see therefore what Frank's high-school principal had to say of him. "This boy had an aggressive, rather unpleasant personality when he attended the tenth grade. He was not liked by his classmates for many years. During his senior year, he changed considerably. He made a good social adjustment with his classmates, did work of superior quality, and showed real intellectual powers." The fact that his mother ignored Frank's very real difficulties in school and referred only to his successes in school gives some indication of her preference for him.

After entering junior high school (11-11) Betty's relationship to her mother changed for the better and the home situation became less tense. Her work at school improved in her mother's opinion. This change came about through Betty's good relationship with Miss Powell, an English teacher, who succeeded in stimulating her interest and who appreciated her efforts and accomplishments. During the time of this improvement, the mother still tried to keep Betty dependent and to force her into the realm of her own ideals. As soon as Betty expressed a wish to go to dancing school—meaning a particular one—her mother chose one of her own preference and urged Betty to go there. The result was that Betty refused to attend, and for two years the subject did not come up again. Then it was settled in Betty's favor.

Not until recently, while Betty has been attending the tenth grade (14-11 to 15-9), did her mother realize that her daughter suffered under her influence and yearned for her love and approval. She then made every conscious effort to help her. In the first place, she bought her nicer clothes than she did ordinarily, but refused for a long time to buy her an evening dress. She even let her buy her own clothes, but she could not restrain herself, later, from criticizing Betty's selection and her careless spending of money.

Betty's choice of friends has led to repeated severe disagreements

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with her mother. The type of girl she chooses as a friend is exactly the opposite of what Betty's parents consider desirable company. She selects girls from a very sophisticated section of society and attempts to change her own family patterns according to their more fashionable standards. The mother rejects this imposition violently. She blames a great deal of Betty's undesirable development on her association with these friends, who possess an excessive interest in clothes and have "very superficial and cheap interests." Betty's departure from family standards and values is expressed in her preference for swing music, in her reading of magazines and serial books, and in her dislike of Latin. The mere fact that it requires a great effort on Betty's part to accomplish anything in Latin is reason enough for her mother to force upon her a continued pursuit of the classical language. The study of Latin presumably is of a character-building quality.

Recently the mother has given up trying to influence Betty in the choice of her friends, but she still tries to direct her by general, impersonal discussions about family background, culture, and education.

It has been the mother's policy to deal with sex questions openly and to discuss them fully with her children. But Betty and Frank have always been very different in their inquisitiveness. While Frank was quite eager to collect information on sex problems, Betty asked only once (10-5). She wanted to know why a baby, which had been born illegitimately to a girl living in the neighborhood, had died. The mother replied, "You see, Mary's baby died because it had no father."

Though Betty is over fourteen years of age, her mother will not give her permission to go to a movie alone with a boy. Explaining the reasons for her attitude, she says, "I think Betty is too young and immature to sit in a dark movie house holding hands with a boy and watching Jean Harlow." She feels unable to talk about it to Betty because, "she would be too young to understand it." She just disapproves of her going.

During this time, Betty has twice had the experience of seeing a man expose himself in a street car. This made a deep impression upon her and any thought about it is still accompanied by very uncomfortable feelings. She has never talked about this ex-

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perience at home, or with anybody other than the worker during the interviews.

The mother's new awareness of Betty's needs and her slow adaptation to Betty's likes and dislikes appear to have rendered the relationship between them better. The mother avoids arguments whenever possible, but whenever one does occur, it always ends in a blow-up. Nevertheless, Betty has begun to take her mother into her confidence more frequently than before, especially with regard to school parties and other social events. One of her constant complaints has been that older boys, such as her brother's friends, find her too young and refuse to pay any attention to her. After each discouraging and disappointing social experience, she has complained about her appearance and has expressed her worry and self-consciousness about the mole on her cheek. For two years she has wanted to have an operation and has consistently urged her family to give their consent. The mother used to reply, "You do not have to be so terribly pretty in order to be popular. I was not pretty, and I had a very good time when I was a young girl. I was popular." Betty's concern about her appearance is rejected as unfounded by the whole family. Her brother has exclaimed on several occasions, "She is the damndest fool. She thinks too much about her looks. She looks all right."

Betty, when questioned about her mother and what she likes best about her, says, "She leads wherever she goes. She is a good leader." Urged to consider her own relationship to her, she pauses and then answers hesitantly, "I can't think of what I like but I can think of what I dislike." On further questioning Betty says, "Mother isn't very affectionate. She kisses me and all that but when I was a little girl I thought she ought to tuck me in bed. Other children's mothers tucked them in bed, but I guess Mother didn't think it was important."

According to a description given by the worker, the mother is a "short, slight woman with tight lips and a righteous manner. She is friendly but decisive. She has a quick grasp of ideas and gives the impression of being very intelligent and strong-willed. She was quietly dressed in simple clothes which showed a subtle appreciation of color and were more feminine in style than she."

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Betty's relationship to her father is not as clear as her relationship to her mother. Neither the mother nor Betty talk freely about him. Yet Betty is convinced that her mother influences her father intellectually in questions of ideas and values. "Mother only tries to please him in her clothes." Betty likes her father because he is funny and her friends like him. They say, "Betty, you've such a cute father." When Betty is questioned about favorites in the family, she replies, "I don't know. I never figured it out. I always try to figure it out, but I don't." Coming back to this conversation later, she adds that she thinks her father likes her better than he does her brother, but she can't be sure. She has been thinking about it, but whenever she arrives at a conclusion she again becomes uncertain. The mother herself denies strongly that there is a favorite child in the home, while she admits quite openly at other times her admiration for and approval of her son.

In addition to information about family relationships, the interviews elicited some interesting material concerning Betty's early memories. These represent a kind of indirect and irrational material, which renders them unsuitable for direct comparison with the foregoing data. They are appended here separately, therefore, and in verbatim form.¹¹

Betty: . . . well, I can remember distinctly some insignificant things, but the most important things I do not remember. I remember digging for a pen knife that was buried, and I remember saying "hello" to somebody, I mean, my daddy introduced me and I said "hello" and she said that I was shy, I remember that and I must have been about four then. I remember the stupidest things.

Worker: Did you ever try to think of the very first thing you remember?

Betty: But I don't remember so much, and then I do remember things but my family says I'm nutty because they never happened.

Worker: . . . way back in your childhood what did you enjoy most?

Betty: I had such a good time I can't pick out one instance. I used to love to go riding in street cars and when I could go to the circus, I had to ride on the street car to go to the circus, that was quite an event. Is that what you mean? I can't think of any particular incident.

Worker: You love to ride the street car?

Betty: I liked the people and I liked the noise and looking out of the

¹¹ In all the verbatim quotations which follow, dashes indicate pauses and dots indicate that a passage has been omitted.

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window. I liked the lights—I just remember liking to go on the street car because I was crazy about it.

Worker: . . . did the circus make you have nightmares?

Betty: Oh, no, but what I ate used to give me nightmares. I used to eat everything, but most of all I liked that pink stuff, oh, it was as big as that, and when you put it in your mouth it melted down to nothing.¹²

These memories differ markedly from the direct information previously presented in this section but have significance for an understanding of Betty's personality.

FAMILY HISTORY: A COMPARISON WITH SCHOOL RECORDS

Comparison of the background information with findings based on the school records indicates that a considerable degree of insight was acquired from the record material alone. But the understanding of Betty's personality has gained in one essential point through inclusion of the interview data. For, although the main trends in Betty's emotional development could be ascertained with a fair degree of certainty from the school reports, the seriousness of any one trend could not be satisfactorily determined. It became progressively clear, for example, as the interpretation of the record material proceeded, that a conflict with her mother lay at the bottom of Betty's difficulties. But the intensity and extent of this conflict were revealed only through the interview material.

The most crucial point in Betty's development was represented by her illness at the age of six. The change which she underwent was so thoroughgoing that it could hardly be ascribed to the mere fact that the child had been spoiled. There is no doubt, of course, that the spoiling, and the exclusive care and consideration she received, were important contributing factors; but they were not the cause of the change. The records prove that a conflict between mother and child existed at a much earlier age. The change which took place at the time of Betty's recovery from illness is but the second edition of an older conflict. The content

¹² The memory of the "pink stuff" which was "as big as that" probably bears some relationship to one detail in Betty's writings which concerns indulgence in fluffy, sweet food. Reference is made there to the whipped cream, puffy as clouds, which makes her mouth water. See "Self-expressive material," XXIV.

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of this conflict gives the real reason for the change; that content becomes clearer through consideration of the behavior and attitudes which Betty manifested after her illness.

Betty says she is dumb, she doesn't answer through fear of being wrong; furthermore, she asks her mother repeatedly, "Do you love me?" The two complexes of assertion and achievement, familiar from the school records, stand here in their original relationship. It is obvious that Betty's behavior after her illness grew out of her feeling that she was unloved and inferior, that is, "dumb" and behind the other children in work. Simultaneously with Betty's difficulties, her mother developed an aversion toward the child which expressed itself in an attempt to hide her from the world. On the basis of this indirect evidence, a reconstruction of the process which led to Betty's change may be attempted.

Before the illness, there had already been established in Betty the feeling that she had to "pretend" in order to attract the attention of her mother (lying in kindergarten). On account of the mother's preference for Frank, Betty probably came to the conclusion that no child could be loved unless she were like Frank, unless she were a boy. Then, by becoming sick, she received more attention and consideration than before. This accounts for her subsequent inability to return to normal conditions of family relationship as they had existed before: the period antedating her illness was already reminiscent of many disappointing experiences, a repetition of which she wished to avoid. Treated like an infant during her illness, completely cared for in all her demands, Betty behaved very much like a baby afterwards; characteristically, she fought against any refusal or frustration. She slowly gave up her previously acquired achievements in deferring, substituting, or repressing wishes. Briefly, she gave up her ability to face reality in favor of making demands upon her mother, demands on a level on which she had never been satisfied. Later, when failure to achieve a double promotion induced a very similar situation of severe frustration, Betty resorted to the same regressive device.

When Betty returned to school after her illness, she protected herself and avoided situations of disappointment by retreating from participation. This accounts for her habit of not answering any question, as the mother explained correctly, because of a

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fear that she might be wrong. The school records gain new significance in the light of this information: Betty prefers "to do the opposite of what has been suggested. Shows a negativistic attitude—does not show much interest . . . not as much a part of the group socially as during the first part of the year" (XXXVI).

Betty was not prepared for the unexpected change which her environment demanded of her at the time of recovery, when her special status was suddenly canceled. Her environment pressed her to return to normal as fast as possible. Betty's stubborn demanding of privileges which she may have enjoyed during her illness was met by her mother with firm rejection. Whatever had effected the change Betty found herself unable to adjust to the new situation. She needed the opportunity for a slow-moving process of reëducation during convalescence, a chance which was not given to her. Out of the fear of being deprived of her security and satisfactory dominance, and out of guilt about her aggressive acts and fantasies toward her mother, there developed a post-illness pattern of behavior and attitudes. In this connection it is interesting to examine her remark about the mother, in which rejection and resentment are significantly combined with a strong desire for maternal affection. She says, "I can't think of what I like but I can think of what I dislike," and continues, "Mother isn't very affectionate. She kisses me and all that but when I was a little girl I thought she ought to tuck me in bed. Other children's mothers tucked them in bed, but I guess Mother didn't think it was important."

The more stubborn and disagreeable the child became after recovery, the more firm the mother grew. "When she didn't want to obey, I forced her . . . and whether she liked it or not, she did it." This vicious circle made life difficult for mother and child, and continued to do so through the years which followed. During this time the mother's aversion toward Betty increased constantly; and Betty's emotional situation of alienation and aggression is well illustrated by the table scenes, in which she embarrassed her mother before guests, and by the episode with the letter and the picture.¹³

When Betty entered second grade, her school adjustment was

¹³ See above, pp. 73 and 74.

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much better than before. "Betty is a popular member of the group. She is a good sport and plays well with other children. She is generous and thoughtful. She contributes many helpful suggestions to the group. She is usually obedient. She is alert and interested in her work" (XXXVII). This estimate is dated about one year after her illness. Not until the fourth grade is there any mention of serious difficulty in school; that is the year at the end of which her mother expects a double-promotion. This circumstance transfers Betty's home problem directly into the school. The denial of a double-promotion precipitates a series of reactions which are very similar in type to her behavior after her illness. As has already been mentioned, her inability to bear any painful refusal shows itself as a fundamental weakness in her personality. Now, for a second time, she reacts by withdrawing from work and competition, or by giving up her wishes. Her work becomes poor.¹⁴ Then she retreats to a level of less conflicted existence, thus indicating that, psychologically, the denial of a double promotion signifies a rejection of herself; she thereupon exhibits a "babyish" quality in her speech" (XLV). Finally, she manifests an inclination to conform to requirements only if she is assured of personal affection and approval; she "shows a tendency to respond only to praise" (XLVI). Betty's indifferent and diffident attitude toward her work and toward school becomes rather firmly established after this experience and continues, with some temporary oscillations, up to the tenth grade.

There is not much evidence in the records about the improvement in Betty's relationship with her mother brought about through Miss Powell, her English teacher in the seventh grade. Miss Powell may have served as a mother substitute, who helped her to reach beyond the immediate family relationships. But, as soon as adolescence urges Betty to seek identifications outside the home, renewed conflict with her mother results. The mother not only withholds affection and approval from Betty, but she also gives her misleading ideas in sex information. Consciously,

¹⁴ "In her academic work Betty has definite weaknesses. She is inclined to work too hurriedly and too carelessly. Our achievement tests show that Betty is below the standard for the fifth grade in dictation, arithmetic, and geography" (XLV). "I continue to feel that Betty is capable of better work than she has done" (XLVII).

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the mother intends to discuss any question of sex quite freely with her children, but actually she confuses her daughter's thinking and discourages her curiosity in this as well as in other fields. It is not surprising to learn that Betty asks for information on sexual matters on but one occasion. The explanation about the death of the illegitimate child is probably characteristic of the mother's attitude in general. In spite of her advocacy of free discussion of sex problems in education, the mother is extremely reluctant about giving it to her daughter. Furthermore, she does not permit her to go to the movies with a boy. The mother excuses her own hesitancy and inability to talk with Betty by saying that her daughter is too young to understand; yet at that time Betty is almost fifteen years of age. The contradiction between the doctrine and the behavior of Betty's mother is suggestive in itself and indicates the high degree of her own insecurity toward her daughter.

It is interesting to consider the mother's reaction at the time when she begins to realize that her daughter has suffered under her influence and has yearned for her love and approval. She makes an effort to help Betty by buying her nicer clothes than she would ordinarily. The mother becomes aware of the yearning in her daughter, but her method of satisfying it is an admission of her inability to understand it. Instead of affection, she gives Betty the very things which she condemns her for wanting, and Betty says, "Mother isn't very affectionate. She kisses me and all that but . . ."

There is practically no material at all concerning the father; neither Betty nor her mother has much to say about him. Betty's insecurity about her relationship to her father is well expressed in the answer which she gives when questioned about being his favorite. She says, "I don't know. I never figured it out. I always try to figure it out, but I don't." Later she adds that she thinks her father likes her better than her brother but she cannot be sure; if the father does in fact prefer Betty, his partiality may create some conflict between the parents. Unfortunately this relationship cannot be elucidated.

Betty's early memories are of great interest because they contain in condensed form the conflicts which recur during her adoles-

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cent development. In the first place, she is convinced that she remembers only insignificant but no significant things, that these things are stupid and her family says she is "nutty" if she talks about them. Nevertheless, her two early memories are not without significance in the light of her later life. One situation concerns an instance of being shy, afraid, insecure, girlish; the other describes a search for some buried object, something which has been lost and which must be recovered. Interestingly enough the lost object is a penknife, a possession characteristic of boys. The two themes which have been retained in these fragmentary memories are the same ones which will be dealt with in detail in the discussion of her adolescent adjustment. They are already familiar through the interpretation of her writings.

The conflicts of Betty's infancy have been covered by an amnesia. Nevertheless they are contained in the "insignificant" early memories. Betty cannot readily answer the question of what she has enjoyed most. She says, "I had such a good time, I can't pick out one instance." Knowing her history, it seems certain that this answer is as sincere as she can give, but one not borne out by the facts. The question arises as to whether Betty's reference to the street car has not been stimulated by her recent experience of seeing a man expose himself; this was heavily impressed on her mind, as she revealed in a later interview. Convincing evidence on this point cannot be adduced. Access has been gained to at least a partial meaning of the memories; the rest may be left in its original context simply as an interesting document of early memories recalled by Betty when she was fifteen years of age.

6. Adolescent Adjustments and Early Life History

ADJUSTMENT IN SELECTED AREAS DURING 1935-36

Whereas most of the data previously presented have referred to the circumstantial events and experiences of Betty's life, exclusive consideration is given in the following to the personal quality of Betty's feelings and thoughts about her various experiences. For this purpose the material in the present section is restricted to excerpts from interviews with Betty; and it is organized around those areas of adjustment which she repeatedly selects as topics for discussion with the worker. These areas are: Adults, Boys, Girls, Physical development, Self, and Standards. Problems in these areas may therefore be assumed to be focal for Betty; through them she experiences and works out her emotional development.¹⁵

Adults

Betty's relationship to adults during adolescence shows very little evidence of divergence from her earlier attitude. She is rather indifferent toward adults and establishes relationships with them only on a very superficial level. She is friendly but distrustful.

Her prevailing attitude is a kind of resignation about adults, a willingness to accept them as they are with all their strange conceptions and unreliabilities. Upon receiving her report card at the end of the year, she says to the worker, "Teachers have the most peculiar ideas." Betty is referring to a "B" in English, obtained despite the teacher's warning, shortly beforehand, that her grade would have to be withheld unless her spelling and punctuation improved. She is quite satisfied with her "C" in Latin: "It

¹⁵ For information concerning the frequency and time of interviews, information which places the interview material in relation to other data, see above, "Interview material concerning family relationships," p. 72.

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really is a gift from Miss Swinton." But she considers the "C" in Business Studies unfair: "Miss Pratt is very temperamental and I think her temperament comes in when she gives grades. She likes to clown in class herself, but she never wants anyone else to clown. But her classes are never dull."

In making these comments, Betty shows neither hurt feelings nor any bitter criticism; she is able to appreciate Miss Pratt's teaching in spite of her unfairness. Her sense of unjust treatment, concealed by resigned acceptance, appears again in Betty's remark to the worker concerning Delphine, who is one of the girls most popular with boys: "If you like me and you like Delphine, there must be something wrong with your standards." The rebuke is merely implied; Betty keeps her real feelings and thoughts to herself, maintaining a discreet reserve in her relationship to adults. When a substitute teacher in English, who has been conducting the class for two weeks, asks the students to state what they have learned from experience, Betty writes, "I have learned from experience not to tell what I've learned." In discussing this incident with the worker, she adds, "I thought he was being too personal."

Betty's feelings about adults are further revealed in her statements concerning marriage. Happiness does not last, she comments. At camp there were ten girls in her bungalow, five of whom came from homes where the parents were divorced or separated. "People get tired of each other." She thinks it is "crazy the way an intelligent man will marry a dumb woman so he can show off. . . . Of course, he'd get tired of her." Another instance of marital disharmony, she thinks, would arise "when a very witty man married a woman who wasn't as witty. The wife might appreciate his jokes, but if she couldn't make up as good ones, it would be hard on her, because she couldn't say as smart things as he could."

This remark recalls Betty's description of her father as being "funny"; it suggests that the process of matching men against women may have developed through observing her own parents. The mother is a rather dominant woman, a circumstance which may easily have led to tensions with her husband. Such an assumption is not adequately corroborated in the records available. Nevertheless, it may be noted that the examples which Betty

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selects to demonstrate causes of unhappy marriage repeatedly picture the woman as dumb or dull, and the man as intelligent and witty. They represent still another instance in which Betty expresses her deep-rooted conviction about the inferiority of women.

Summary: In her relationship to adults Betty is reserved and apparently superficial and indifferent. She does not seek contacts with them nor does she avoid them. At the bottom of this attitude lies a fundamental doubt, revealed by her comments, about the possibility of any real understanding and any lasting happiness among people.

Boys

To be in the company of any boy, Betty says, makes her very self-conscious. Immediately after receiving her mother's permission to attend parties she begins to feel extremely concerned about her "queer and crazy" mole, and to complain that she does not receive as many invitations from boys as some other girls do. Because she is a girl, she feels, she must watch her looks continually or it will not be possible for her to find any acquaintances among boys. Although she does not especially like to be with girls, she finds it easier "because you don't have to worry about yourself. . . . Being with any boy gives me gray hairs, because you have to look nice and every other minute you have to worry about how your hair looks. If you take it easy for a couple of minutes, somebody else gets the better of him. It's very hard." Besides thinking at all times about how she looks, a girl must also be on guard not to express her real feelings. Betty says she is "hopeless" when she likes a boy but it would not do to show him this. She is convinced that a girl can be loved only for her looks but is too inferior to be loved for herself.

The social events which Betty likes best are those which include boys older than herself. She wants to be admired by college students like her brother, who has probably always been a symbol to her of what is likable. The fact that these older boys do not accept her makes her feel rejected, disappointed, and insecure.

In the fall of 1935, Betty suddenly resolves not to go out with boys any more, for a period of two years. Several experiences are responsible for her decision. Two boys, in whom Betty has

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shown interest, rebuff her by refusing her invitation to a party, after having first accepted it. Very shortly after this a similar incident occurs. She asks a boy to a school dance and, after first promising to come, he tells her later that he is sorry but he is going away over the week-end, and this makes it impossible for him to keep the engagement. Betty goes to the party in spite of it, but only boys of her age dance with her, and none of the older boys notice her. At the same time the older brother of her friend, Jane, talks to her about what older boys like in girls. "You see, he told me that older boys like girls who come from the country because city girls are out for all they can get. They want a lot of money spent on them, but girls from the country are sweet. I guess he is right about city girls. I like to get a lot."

The idea of sweetness and demureness, so convincingly pictured as an asset by this older boy, influences Betty to make her resolution. Her insecurity and self-consciousness with boys are already extremely embarrassing to her; she reacts to a repeated rejection of her invitations by withdrawing from the field of conflict. This move is precipitated suddenly, after she has gained the conviction that by withdrawing she will grow more likable to older boys, and thereby attain the fulfillment of her wishes.

However, Betty breaks her resolution. She says, "I had to go out last week and I didn't want to go. The son of a friend of Mother's asked me for a date and I had to say yes. Who wants to go out with the son of a friend of their mother's? Mother said I didn't have to go unless I wanted to, but --- yes, I went out with him." At this party Betty meets a college boy from Cleveland, whom she likes very much. "I'll probably never see him again. If a man lived in Europe and came to this country just once for a week, I'd be sure to meet him and fall for him. I'm that type of girl. Then I'd never see him again . . . I always seem to like people whom I'll never have a chance to see again." These sentences formulate very well her fear of being rejected and deserted after an initial relationship; it seems preferable to her not to risk the happiness and satisfaction of any acquaintance by wanting to continue it.

Yet Betty wavers in her resolution and at times weakens. She goes out but regrets it afterwards. "I had a good time but I didn't care very much. It was just the same as though I had kept my

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resolution. I was bored." Not until the end of the year does she become aware of the fact that her resolution has not affected her in the way she expected. "I realize I made a mistake, giving up boys last year. It didn't change me a bit. I regret it, but I'm going to stick it out now until my mole is removed. When I hear the other girls talk about how difficult it is to be popular, I realize I was popular and didn't know it."

Betty's withdrawal from boys is also connected with her concepts about sex. When she was a child, her mother occasionally gave her some sex information, "but she didn't tell me everything." Betty also received sex information from her brother when she was about fifteen and a half years old. One day he and a boy friend of his were walking in the country with her. They discussed intercourse together; then turning to her the brother said, "We're not telling you anything you don't know, are we?" Betty pretended that they were not. The accuracy of the facts covered in this discussion is unknown. However it is interesting to see, in her comments to the worker, how inadequate and distorted Betty's ideas about sex still remain and how she makes all new information fit into a conceptual scheme, originally elaborated at an earlier period of her life.

Betty: I never thought of what happens to boys until somebody told me some weird accounts about somebody who could have a child with a husband before they were married and it was all because of something. But it was all mixed up and all wrong and I got worried and I asked my mother about it and she said --- and finally I learned more and more and I worked up a whole idea about it. I think it's true.

Worker: Did you think that babies were born only to married people?

Betty: No. But I never could ask, before I knew what happened to boys.

Worker: Well, what do you think happens to them?

Betty: Oh, I think that before they are a certain age they have to go to a house or else they get sort of pains or something or other. One of the girls told me.

Worker: Do girls talk about those things very much among themselves?

Betty: Quite a bit . . . well, I didn't pick up much this year but it seems before each year you pick up more and more and more. I mean, your mother tells you when you're about four and you forget it all, and she keeps on telling them. And then there are things which your mother never knows even if you ask her.

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Worker: Do you think it is easier to talk about those things to other girls than it is to talk to an adult?

Betty: No, but I don't know, well, you get to talking and then all of a sudden you leave and then you get back to it. But if you talk about it your impression is different from month to month.

Worker: How different?

Betty: Well, it isn't very scientific. With your mother you're scientific and you're not scientific when you talk to girls about it. . . . I was always more or less in the dark about boys until --- oh, my mother told me --- I mean some girls told me and then I was all mixed up --- I always knew that girls went through it [menstruation] but I thought something happened to boys but I didn't know.

It is noteworthy that none of these discussions with girls leads to any clearer conception of sexual processes but on the contrary causes a great deal of confusion in Betty's mind. As evidenced by Betty herself, the discussions among girls constitute for her an exchange of sexual fantasies and individual conceptions, rather than clarification on an informative level.

The content of Betty's remarks reveals considerable confusion concerning masculine and feminine sexual functions and relationships, and her chaotic notions contribute to the fear of her own sexual impulses. This general insecurity is an important determinant in her behavior with boys. As indicated by her resolution, she has found herself unable to establish satisfactory contacts with boys. On the one hand, she is afraid of a rejection, and, on the other hand, she is afraid of her inability to control her own feelings. This conflict results in her withdrawal. She makes repeated reference to her insecurity, and to how she should behave when with a boy. She always feels that she owes a boy something when she has been given a good time by him. This feeling of indebtedness has been very strong; she says, "Sometimes I have paid my debt." The mild petting to which she refers has sometimes given her pleasure and sometimes not. Fundamentally she is afraid to pet because "I'd be afraid I would go too far. I might go the whole way." This fear and self-restriction cannot fail to be considered by Betty as indicating the disadvantage of being a girl. "Boys do have it better. Physically they have it better. They can neck as much as they want to and it's perfectly all right, but if a girl necks, her reputation is ruined. The boys like it but they don't respect her."

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Summary: Betty's relationship to boys reveals her insecurity in more than one respect. Her emerging sexual impulses arouse fear; in order to avoid this she subjects her feelings to complete negation and disavowal. Consequently she withdraws from boys. The second factor which contributes to her withdrawal is her inability to bear any frustration. Disappointing experiences with boys of her own age turn her interest toward boys of college age. In view of their greater maturity they are capable of giving her more self-assurance and security through their more definite expectation of the rôle they want her to play.

Significantly, Betty breaks her resolution several times; yet she enjoys her lapse only once, when she meets a college boy whom she never expects to see again. It is not surprising to find her disappointed and unchanged at the end of the year, because the withdrawal merely keeps her away from the sphere of conflict, without inducing any changes in her which would enable her to face the problem more maturely.

Girls

When Betty makes her resolution, she says, "Well, I wouldn't say I'm not going to be interested in any fun. I could go out evenings with girls, I mean, I've done it before. I could go out with a group of girls. My girl friend has a brother and he takes me out." She refers here to Jane's older brother whose opinion about girls has contributed a great deal to her decision. The resolution is not made by Betty alone; she has an ally in Jane who joins Betty in a pact of temporary asceticism and postponement of heterosexual relationships. Jane is her best friend at this time; she also has an older brother, and Betty has identified herself with this girl very strongly. It is Jane whose dress and pin Betty wears, thus giving up her own identity with an apparently playful attitude. On another occasion Betty and Jane wear identical dresses; Betty informs the worker that they had gone shopping together and she chose for Jane the same dress which she herself was wearing.

Betty's relationship with girls naturally assumes greater importance after she breaks off her relationship with boys. Her intimacy with girls expresses itself further in the many discussions

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she has with other girls about boys and what happens to them. These conversations, it has been pointed out, serve as a substitute for the suspended contacts with boys; Betty reacts to the self-imposed denial of masculine companionship by putting greater emotional emphasis on her friendship with girls.

It is noteworthy that Betty selects her friends from a social group different from that to which her parents belong. This is an obvious expression of her rebellion against the family; she chooses as an ego-ideal the girls who apparently have more security and sophistication in their relationship to others, especially to boys. Instead of selecting with discrimination from among her parents' standards and values, she stubbornly rejects them, to the chagrin of her mother.

During the spring of 1936, she suddenly loses interest in Jane. When reminded of her previous friendship she says, "We just grew apart." She transfers her interest to other friends, probably as a reaction against her increasingly intense feelings for Jane. For, as soon as these feelings become too strong, they create a potential threat. In order to avoid this danger, represented in the friendship, Betty takes refuge in alienation. "We just grew apart."

The same feeling of an intense relationship is transferred, without delay and without difficulty, to somebody else. In the late spring, Betty meets a girl of her own age who is interested in ballet dancing and who, at the time, is being trained at a professional ballet school. Betty is enthusiastic about the girl and says, "I'm always, always going to keep her for my best friend. She has the same ambition I have and I have the same ambition she has. I gave her my ambition and she gave me her ambition." At this time Betty develops a great interest in ballet dancing. Her choice is characteristic, for the ballet represents a highly stylistic and reserved dance form executed without a partner. She remarks, "I wish I had gone to ballet school when I was very young, but then Mother didn't know what I wanted to become." At first her parents oppose ballet schools. Betty finally persuades her mother to let her take one ballet lesson a week. This new interest serves as a great relief during the time of her self-imposed restriction. It is continued with enthusiasm and gives her real satisfaction.

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Summary: Betty's resolution about boys is not without great influence on her relationship with girls. This relationship is based primarily on her identification with them. Her friendship with girls, insofar as it is a substitute for her abandoned relationship with boys, gradually becomes endowed with an emotional significance which produces anxiety. When this point is reached, her friendship collapses without any apparent reason, and a new one takes its place, this time with a girl interested in the dance. The exchange of "ambitions" is an indication of a relationship established on a sublimated level. The shared interest of the dance absorbs a great deal of her emotions by focusing attention on her own body, its grace and beauty.

It is interesting to see how Betty first tackled the problem of relationship to boys and after rejection and disappointment shifted the emotional emphasis to her friendships with girls. Finally she had to abandon these attachments also. Then a new phase in her relationship to girls occurs. The change consists in the shift of emphasis from the girl herself to an interest which Betty shares with her.

Physical Development

At the age of thirteen or fourteen years, Betty begins to be very concerned with her looks. The mole on her cheek, which is somewhat noticeable, becomes the focus of her self-consciousness. Worry about her appearance increases and finally motivates her to avoid dances or parties until the mole will have been removed by an operation. She has read about operations which have succeeded in improving the looks of women, and has set her hope on this surgical work. Some passages concerning her self-consciousness follow:

Worker: How long have you been conscious of it?

Betty: When I came into about the seventh grade, I didn't think about it and then I became very, very conscious of it. . . . I never looked at myself before.

Worker: Do you think the mole spoils your looks?

Betty: Oh, I think it's all crazy.

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Worker: Does that worry you?

Betty: Yes. I always feel queer. When anybody talks about looks I always think that they're insinuating.

Worker: Does anybody tease you?

Betty: No. Nobody teases me about it, but I feel very, very funny.

Worker: You just know it's there and you forget that your teeth are there and your ears.

Betty: Oh, well, my teeth are all right, my hair's all right, my eyes are all right, my lips are all right but the mole annoys me, I mean, everything's normal excepting that, and I'm conscious of that.

At the party where Betty met the college boy from Cleveland, the girls had to choose masks at a certain point in the dance. Then the boys picked out masks and matched them up with girls who had similar masks. Betty selected a pig's mask. There were pirate masks and Mickey Mouse masks available, but "I don't know, I just picked a pig's mask. Bob [the boy from Cleveland] didn't know that I saw him pick out a mask like mine, but," she added in a pleased tone of voice, "I did see him."

During this time Betty turns to her mother repeatedly to complain about her appearance and to ask for more fashionable clothes. The mother becomes convinced of the seriousness of Betty's worries. She buys her more expensive clothes; furthermore, she is inclined to give her consent to the operation. But the disagreement of members of the family on this point delays any final decision and action.

The physical stigma of a mole annoys Betty to such an extent that she declines an invitation to a luncheon, given to a specially selected group from the camp she attended during the summer. Despite the fact that it would be a matter of prestige to go to the luncheon, she decides against it on the grounds that she prefers not to meet the girls before the operation has been performed. Betty also expects the removal of the mole to effect great changes in her relationship with boys. She is willing to postpone all social contacts until her looks have been improved. One day Betty came to the worker wearing a large signet ring upon the third finger of the left hand. A boy gave it to her. "It's worn. I guess others had it before me," she said, laughing. The boy who gave her the ring used to be a playmate of hers when she was little and lived

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in another part of the town. The boy is three years older than she. Last year he invited her to a party and subsequently gave her his ring. Betty has not seen him since. She said, "I don't want to see him until next year. I want him to forget how I look before next year so he'll see me entirely differently." Betty expects the removal of the mole to transform her appearance completely.

Summary: Betty's self-consciousness about the mole goes far beyond any reasonable attitude towards a slight physical deviation. It is true that the mole is noticeable; yet the intensity of her withdrawal suggests that her worries represent more than a mere reaction to having a mole. There have been indications in the records that worries of a psychological nature have been giving Betty a great deal of trouble in the last two years; these are her ambivalence toward her sex and her difficulty in accepting the feminine rôle. Naturally this conflict involves physical differences. It is of great interest to observe that Betty focuses her feeling of being different, and of being disfigured from birth, upon a facial mark which can be noticed immediately by everyone who looks at her. Her doubt of personal worth and her lack of self-confidence have long been disturbing and uncontrollable factors, sources of irritation, in Betty's emotional life, and they have become especially troublesome during adolescence. When finally her worries are concentrated into a tangible concern about a localized, physical mark, they can be more easily controlled. By thus controlling a conflict situation, Betty puts herself into the advantageous position of being able to believe: "If I am different from others only insofar as the mole is concerned, if this mole is responsible for all my misgivings and disappointments—well, then, as soon as it is removed I shall be a different person." The process of centralizing psychological or emotional problems around a physical "defect" eases the situation for Betty and substantiates her expectations that an external change brought about by an operation will solve conflicts of a personal or emotional nature.

Self

Betty's feelings about herself are quite thoroughly documented by the records. Due to her tendency to withdraw—after, or in anticipation of, unpleasant and disappointing experiences—

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she has developed an extremely elaborate fantasy life. The imaginings which, for Betty, sometimes become indistinguishable from reality give rise to vague feelings of uncertainty and repetitiveness. Betty expresses these feelings at one point in the interview when a memory which she wants to reproduce suddenly loses its clarity and distinctiveness. She continues, "Well, I think it happened, but every other minute I don't think it happened. I think it happens to everybody, because I read about it some place, that when you do something and then maybe a year or so later, or a week or so later, you are doing something and in some way you think you're doing exactly the same thing again." Also interesting in this connection is the fact that she remembers a lot of things which, according to her family, have never happened.

There have been a few persistent fantasies which have come up with increased intensity during the last two years. They usually keep Betty awake in the evening for hours and make it difficult for her to wake up the next morning. "It takes me until ten or eleven o'clock until I feel natural," she says to the worker. The fantasies cease during the summer when she is at camp and away from the family, but they return again when she comes home. In January, 1936, Betty again discontinues having fantasies. She says, "I am too tired when I go to bed because I do exercises," and illustrates for the worker the exercises she takes. She starts by lying down on the floor and kicking one leg out in a circular movement. Then she gets up and leans one hand against the wall, kicking the leg into the air as far as she can. By tiring herself out with these exercises, she succeeds in avoiding any fantasies at night.

The passages of the interviews in which Betty deals with her fantasy life follow verbatim:

Worker: Do you dream much?

Betty: Last night I got to bed at 9:15 and I had curlers on my hair. I should have stayed up about a half an hour but I always dream --- taking everything in general, I dream of fishes, and --- spooks --- and cars and everything. I stay up till about ten o'clock and I can't get to sleep.

Worker: You mean just pictures in your mind.

Betty: Yes. Of myself and different people, everything in general.

Worker: What kind of pictures?

Betty: Oh, first of a girl just like Jane and then of a man like a girl

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and then of a girl that's turned into a girl that's another girl. It's all mixed up but mostly I'm a girl dressed like a boy. I don't know why.
Worker: I think those stories one makes up in one's mind are very interesting.

Betty: Oh, I don't know.

Worker: Have you had that picture much, for many years?

Betty: Yes, you see, at first, when I was young I was a girl who was dressed like a boy and nobody knew I was a girl. Then I was a girl dressed like a boy, but only a certain few people knew I was a girl; finally I was a girl dressed like a boy and then half of the time I was a girl. I remember when I came a great distance I'd turn into a boy and I should have turned into a girl, and I spent the whole night deciding.

Worker: Which did you decide?

Betty: I decided to be a girl dressed like a boy and that I should let everybody know I was a girl and only on certain occasions.

Worker: When was that?

Betty: That must have been last year or the year before last, and this year, once, I was a girl that was dressed as a boy, and see, I thought I had to be true to my sex and be dressed like a boy, and then I designed it all so it should be that I was a girl that was dressed like a boy. I don't know why.

Worker: And is that a story you've kept since you were a little girl?

Betty: Yes, since I was about four.

Worker: Sort of an imaginary thing that becomes a plot.

Betty: Everybody I like comes into it and has a place.

Worker: Does it put you to sleep, too, sometimes?

Betty: I go off to sleep in the middle of it, I think.

Worker: What were you in the dream after you made this decision?

Betty: I was a girl.

Worker: You were a girl?

Betty: Yes ---

Worker: That you wouldn't become a boy for a while, you decided to be a girl?

Betty: Oh, do you mean *that*? I thought you meant the other decision.

Worker: What other decision?

Betty: Oh, the part when I changed the girl to a boy.

Worker: You decided in this picture that you were going to be a girl, you didn't wear boys' clothes, but you, yourself, were a girl, that was a year and a half ago?

Betty: Yes.

Worker: Well, what did you decide the other night? After you and Jane had made up this resolution? ¹⁶

Betty: Oh ---

¹⁶ Referring to the resolution not to go out with boys for two years.

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Worker: You were still a girl?

Betty: I was still a girl.

Worker: But do you always end up a girl?

Betty: Well, sometimes I leave and they still think I'm a boy, sometimes I end up that way.

Worker: Well, which do you mostly end up?

Betty: A girl.

Worker: Have you changed anything in the plot since Jane and you made this resolution?

Betty: Well, I haven't ended it yet.

Worker: I see, you're just going to let it go on and see how it comes out.

Betty: Well, at the moment, I was grown up just like a boy and then somebody found out that I was a girl and then I dressed like a girl but I was with all these boys and now I'm still a girl with the boys.

Worker: I see, that's where you are now. You're going to continue the story and see where it goes.

Betty: I don't know what's going to happen now.

Worker: Well, it sounds very interesting.

Betty: Every time I see a movie, it goes queer ---

Worker: Why?

Betty: I don't know, I get queer ideas from the movies.

Worker: What kind?

Betty: I mean if I see --- if somebody says something darling, I think of the words and I have to put it in.

Worker: Then you have to be the girl, is that it?

Betty: No, not the girl in the movies. Then I have to say something that's very adorable, or somebody else has to say it to me.

Worker: Yes, in your picture.

Betty: Yes, if I see a plot that's very nice, I take the plot and I fix it all up.

Worker: And you put a person in the plot?

Betty: Yes, and a couple of other people, but I mean the people's faces and the situations are slightly different.

Worker: Yes, well, what kind of a plot, for instance?

Betty: Oh, I don't know, I don't know how to explain it, but --- let's see --- did you see "Lives of a Bengal Lancer"?

Worker: Yes.

Betty: Well, do you remember when he says that line --- I forget it but I was crazy about that so I put that in, I got the whole Bengal Lancers mixed in some places.

Worker: And were you the boy in the movie?

Betty: Yes, I was the cute one (not the one who got killed, because I didn't like him), so I was him, and Jane was somebody else--she wasn't either of those, but she was somebody else. She was another person there that wasn't in it. I don't remember who he was ---

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who was he? --- the person who got killed was somebody, maybe it was Mabel that I don't like at all. Gary Cooper, he was somebody I didn't like, I mean, somebody that's cruel, perhaps Jimmy, I don't like him at all.

Worker: Why don't you like him?

Betty: I don't know. He's in the twelfth grade, I had a grudge against him. I kept it a long while, I just don't like him --- I don't know why.

Worker: So he was Gary Cooper?

Betty: He was Gary Cooper, --- and the boy who goes to Franklin High School [whom she likes] he was Franchot Tone. He was in it too, I mean he was, do you remember the --- Major? Well he was slightly different, he was the Major and he didn't talk to any other one. It's --- it's so mixed up.

Worker: But I think it's so interesting, the way you've tried it out. What came after that?

Betty: Well, instead of the four of us, I don't know what happened to him but he got divorced from the regiment and it was all mixed up and the boy left arrangements to go to his mother. You see, because I was reading the real Life of a Bengal Lancer, it's so mixed up and so different, and then you see, all the rest of us stayed home and there were other men, other people, and there was somebody else and our life became the regiment's. The Major was some man --- no, some boy --- somebody I know, he was about twenty-one, and that's all, you see, then I'd think of it and then I'd go to sleep and maybe I'd forget what happened or something.

. . .

Worker: When you were little, would you rather have been a boy than a girl?

Betty: Yes. When I was a very little child, I wanted to be a boy.

Worker: Why? Do you remember?

Betty: Why, I just wanted to be a boy --- I don't know --- Now I like to be a girl because I like --- because I hate the way boys dress. I think it's terrible, but I don't know why I wanted to be a boy, I think it's because I'm much more used to boys, because I mean if I like a boy, I'm absolutely hopeless. It so happens it hasn't happened yet but I have a couple of friends who are crazy about boys but it doesn't do them any good, because they can't ask a boy to go any place or anything. If you were a boy it would simplify that.

. . .

Worker: Well, I think all these pictures are awfully interesting. I think it's awfully nice of you to tell me about it, because I think lots and lots of girls and boys have these pictures, don't you?

Betty: Oh, we all have pictures. We have to.

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Worker: Do you ever have any feelings with these pictures?

Betty: Well, I've been crying in them ---

Worker: You mean in one you make up in your mind?

Betty: Yes, I can cry over them if I want to. Sometimes I make them very, very sad and I cry over them. I have.

Worker: Well what would make you cry?

Betty: Oh, I don't know, usually it's self-pity I think that makes me cry.

Worker: . . . Can you remember any one that made you cry?

Betty: Well, somebody I was supposed to marry, died, and see, I lived at one place and he lived in another place and he died and afterwards a friend of his came and said that it was me that killed him and it was because I wouldn't live with him so he thought that I wasn't going to do something else and then it was all complicated and that made me very sad.

The movie "Shipmates Forever" gives rise to the following plot which she works out in her fantasy, the last one in which she indulges before resorting to exercises. There are two divisions in Annapolis, one division of boys and one division of girls. The girls wear the same uniforms as the boys, except that the long gray trousers become long gray skirts. At one point both boy and girl cadets are given rings; the boys give their rings to the girls. She is a girl cadet. She cannot remember who gives her the ring in the fantasy. She ponders and ponders and finally says, "I think it was the boy from Cleveland." Betty met this college student at a party and was certain that she would never see him again. On this occasion she says, "I always seem to like people whom I'll never have a chance to see again." In order to avoid disappointment, as the most probable result of the continuance of any relationship, Betty introduces the person whom she likes into her fantasy life. Interestingly enough, in the Annapolis fantasy Betty finds herself on equal terms with the boys, both being cadets. She cleverly reconciles her wish for love with her desire to be a boy by assuming a masculine rôle as cadet and marrying a fellow cadet. In this fantasy she is, for the first time, a girl dressed like a girl (skirt) but wearing a feminized version of a man's uniform.

These fantasies express clearly a conflict previously suspected in Betty. At the age of four she was already preoccupied with the problem. At that time she was a girl dressed like a boy, and nobody knew that she was a girl. Betty describes very well all the elaborate

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transfigurations through which she went, telling the story of the difficulties she had in her childhood to reconcile herself with her sex. "When I was a very little child I wanted to be a boy. . . . I just wanted to be a boy --- I don't know --- Now I like to be a girl because I like --- because I hate the way boys dress. I think it's terrible, but I don't know why I wanted to be a boy." When Betty tries to justify her preference for being a girl, she cannot think of a single thing she likes about being a girl; she hesitates and continues hurriedly to devalue boys on account of the way they dress. The same tendency to devalue men in order to accept the feminine rôle with less difficulty is repeated when she talks about the millions of women, each being crazy "about one poor little man."

Lately, "last year or before last," Betty again becomes greatly concerned with her conflict about being a girl. Finally, she decides to be a girl dressed like a boy and let everybody know that she is a girl. She justifies her wearing of boys' clothes by saying, "I thought I had to be true to my sex and be dressed like a boy." There Betty confesses her deep-seated belief that she really is a boy, even though no one can see it, even though no one knows it. The double rôle which she has assumed is evidence enough of her turbulent ambivalence toward being a girl. As soon as several unpleasant experiences with boys defeat her in her feminine rôle, making her still more uncertain that she can be successful as a girl, Betty withdraws from any relationship with boys. It must be noted that she makes her resolution in allegiance with Jane who, as a girl, represents an ego-ideal and, at the same time, a boy companion also. ("Jane was somebody else. . . . I don't remember who *he* was ---")

There is one episode in the verbatim report in which Betty feels so moved that she cries. Usually she makes up stories in which she cries out of self-pity. In this particular story she cries because she has killed a man by refusing to live with him: in fantasy, she is actually loved and so desirable to a man that he dies when left without her. His death necessarily spares her any further relationship; she can safely indulge in his love and cry herself to sleep. The story is reminiscent of her poem (XXVI) in which the same scheme of love and loneliness was elaborated.

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Summary: Betty's fantasies reveal the complexity of her conflicts. She is not yet able to accept, in her feeling life, the fact that she is a girl, and her ambivalence toward her own sex then forces her into a withdrawal from boys. Her identification with Jane becomes more meaningful. Betty substitutes Jane for boys; this enables her to continue being a boy in her fantasies, in addition to being a girl. Her fantasies, as well as her relationship to Jane, finally become sources of discomfort and anxiety. She brings her friendship with Jane to a sudden end, and avoids fantasies as sources of increasing emotional conflict. They are suppressed from reaching consciousness by exhausting exercises at night. Betty's reaction illustrates two protective devices directed against disturbances: first, negation of reality; and, second, suppression of fantasies.

The duality, which the records show to be constantly at work in Betty's mind, recalls the use of contrasts as an outstanding structural element in her writings; there is undoubtedly some relationship between her ambivalence toward herself and this structural characteristic. The fact that Betty must constantly pretend to be somebody she is not results, necessarily, in feelings of uncertainty, insecurity, and self-consciousness, feelings which have been recorded as outstanding in her behavior.

Standards

Betty develops standards of appreciation which deviate strongly from those of her family. As has been pointed out before, she seeks contacts with girls of a social stratum different from her own. Her girl friends belong to families with whom her parents have nothing in common. Betty is interested in girls whose parents are better off than her own, and she tries to keep up with them in spite of the criticism and restrictions of her mother. Betty shows a great liking for occasions which are formal, because formality gives her a feeling of security. Her parents, however, like informal parties and informal social events. Betty prefers sophisticated clothes, whereas her mother is fond of inconspicuous clothes and buys them for her daughter as long as she can make her wear them.

Betty shows the same trend of deviation from family standards in her appreciation of music. The only music she plays on the piano is jazz; her mother expects her to play Beethoven and Wag-

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ner. Whereas the family goes to concerts and listens to classical music over the radio, Betty despises this kind of entertainment. The only music she likes is swing music. The radio has a great attraction for Betty. She turns to it as soon as she comes home from school and she always feels that she is "torn between work and the radio."

In the field of literature Betty turns away from the family pattern just as conspicuously. She never shows any interest in the classics. To the distaste of her family, she reads serial books, mystery stories, and magazines and does not make use of the family library to deepen her literary understanding. The only books of quality she reads are those which she has to read for school.

Summary: Betty's rejection of the family standards is but one more reflection of her present family relationships. She identifies herself with a world which is opposed, as far as standards are concerned, to those of her own family. In so doing, she attempts to establish an independence which is built on the complete negation of her family standards. Her rejection extends even to activities upon which her family might look with approval, such as creative writing and painting; and this despite the fact that she possesses considerable ability.

Thus, through rebellion in the realm of standards (appreciation, interests, relationships) Betty expresses her acute conflict with members of the family.

ADOLESCENT ADJUSTMENTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE TOTAL LIFE HISTORY

In the foregoing pages, an account has been given of Betty's behavior and attitudes in those areas in which she most obviously worked out her adolescent adjustments. The uniqueness of Betty's behavior during adolescence, and the centralization of concerns or conflicts around a few major problems, have not occurred through mere chance. They have been largely determined by the specific character of her earlier life, in which family relationships, physical development, and childhood experiences in general have played a major rôle. In order to show the consistency of these reactive tendencies which, though intensified during adolescence, are of long standing in their essential features, an attempt is made here to trace

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their development. The information previously presented about Betty's adolescent conduct, reactions, feelings, and thoughts will therefore be reconsidered in the light of the data concerning her childhood. The latter, unfortunately, are scanty, since they were not collected with this particular purpose in mind; they are, in fact, insufficient for a completely satisfying reconstruction of her growth. Only a few outstanding aspects will, therefore, be subjected to a developmental reconstruction.

Foremost among these is her relationship with people. Betty establishes few lasting friendships; whenever she makes an attempt to attach herself to another person, her hesitating and withdrawing attitude finally brings defeat. She craves for affection; yet a deep distrust in lasting happiness, in real understanding, and in the possibility of acceptance on a non-competitive basis always forces her to withhold her feelings. If she ever goes so far as to admit that she likes any boy, for example, she wants to see him only once: discontinuing an acquaintanceship at the very start will, she thinks, assure her of being spared rejection and disappointment in the end. She can conceive of no other possible outcome. Her fear of a final, inescapable rejection is responsible for the diffident and tentative relationships she is able to establish. It is responsible, too, for her failure to conceive of the possibility of being liked by a person who, at the same time, is fond of someone else: she says to the worker, who was also interviewing a very popular girl of her class, "If you like me and you like Delphine, there must be something wrong with your standards."

Betty implies that love cannot be shared; it becomes the exclusive possession of the individual who competes for it most successfully. This concept obviously reflects her experiences in the family, a situation in which she resigned herself to being the loser, the one who is unloved and unwanted. At an earlier period, however, before accepting defeat as inevitable, she made a number of stubborn attempts to obtain what she wanted; affection still seemed possible of attainment then, and she struggled to secure it by methods which were discernible during the early school years.

The first violent outbreak of Betty's desire for affection and assurance is reported following her illness, when she was six years

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old. She repeatedly asked her mother, at that time, "Do you love me?" This indicates that Betty had not been satisfied and had not found security in her relationship to her mother; otherwise, she would have felt no need to ask. The competitive component in this relationship, and her firm belief in the exclusiveness of affection, are derived from the mother's preference for Frank. Quite probably, this is also the origin of Betty's early need for unusual accomplishment, a compensation which was definitely defeated through the denial of double-promotion in the fourth grade.

Subsequently, for a very short time, Betty enjoyed a feeling of being accepted and wanted. This occurred by virtue of her contacts with Miss Powell, who served as a temporary mother substitute while Betty was in the seventh grade. It enabled her to overcome, in part, the conflicts which she could not work out at home. Unfortunately, the relationship was of short duration; the end of the year came, and with it the loss of Miss Powell. A feeling of being unwanted and a readiness to expect rejection reasserted themselves, and persisted. As a result, Betty's contacts with people, and especially with adults, have remained carefully guarded; her confidence is not easily obtained. "I've learned from experience not to tell what I've learned."

The suppression of feelings, a trait which is also characteristic of Betty's adolescent behavior, is, then, but a protective device to avoid the rejection with which she always feels herself confronted. She gives vent to her feelings most easily in writing, and her literary accomplishments show originality. Even in elementary school, poetry serves as a means to express her feelings of loneliness and desertion. These same feelings reassert themselves at the age of fifteen, when Betty again experiences subjectively the lack of affection which she missed as a child. Questioned about her mother by the worker, the only statement she has to make is a complaint: her mother never tucked her into bed when she was a child. The criticism made at adolescence is on the same level as that expressed in Betty's childhood poetry and shows through its persistence the deepseated conviction of being deprived of affection.

Betty's feeling, as her poem suggests, of being a helpless child,

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abandoned in a stormy and threatening world, necessarily produces fear; this in turn increases Betty's wish for adult protection. When confronted with the pressures of new and difficult emotional demands, she experiences the fear, and invariably regresses to infantile modes of behavior: her conduct at the picnic and her fantasy about the whipped-cream-like cloud may well serve as illustrations. The reactive tendency as such, however, is of long standing; when Betty was refused double-promotion, she fell back into baby talk. The same trend became evident at a still earlier age, in the period following her illness, when she insisted upon continuing her status as a patient, which, in its complete care and indulgence, was equivalent to that of an infant. She met the frustration of that situation, too, with temper tantrums and naughtiness. Such reversal of the direction of development can be observed, as a temporary phenomenon, in the growth of most children, and Betty's development represents no strong deviation. On both occasions, after illness and after denial of a double-promotion, she turns to the primary object of frustration, to her mother, either asking her mother whether she loves her, or accusing her of hating her.

In adolescence Betty returns to this conflict and reproaches her mother for not being affectionate. "Other children's mothers tucked them in bed, but I guess Mother did not think it was important." The mother's preference for Frank, and her withdrawal from Betty, especially after the latter's illness, convinced Betty that only boys can be loved, that only boys are bright.¹⁷ Her attempts to gain affection from her mother and to identify herself with the mother on the basis of this affection were further defeated by the disappearance of physical attractiveness; she lost her curls, and with them some of her charm. "She was an awful-looking sight." There was but one way left in which Betty could try to secure her mother's approval, through academic superiority. This would make her like Frank, who was loved. Thus Betty's competition for her mother's love forced her into intellectual rivalry. But she renounced this method too, with absolute finality, at the end of the fourth grade, when, through denial of the coveted double-promotion, her intellectual drive encountered defeat. This left her

¹⁷ Compare Betty's comment about marriage: the woman is dumb or dull, the man is witty and intelligent.

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with no way whatsoever of winning approval and of effecting an identification with her mother on the basis of it.¹⁸

Betty's desire for affection from her mother stands in sharp contrast to the open hostility which is expressed through her manifest behavior. The high degree of ambivalence which this relationship represents is an indication of its unresolved nature, and naturally aggravates Betty's difficulty in accepting her feminine rôle. In one phase of adolescent development, ambivalence toward parents is a common occurrence, representing a struggle to extend or transfer childhood identifications to new relationships and allegiances. In Betty, the conflictedness of her early relationship comes to the surface, quite intensified in character, and brings up a related conflict, illuminated by the interview material with unusual clarity. This is the infantile problem, revolving around the question of whether Betty is a boy or a girl.

This conflict appears very clearly in Betty's fantasies, whose most remarkable aspect is the naturalness and self-conviction with which she talks about the most unintelligible ideas. Without any hesitation, she describes herself as a girl dressed like a boy, a man dressed like a girl, a boy half the time and a girl half the time, and finally a girl who turned into a boy and should have turned into a girl and so forth. In these fantasies Betty is talking about psychological realities which have assumed as much actuality for her emotional life as the factual reality of reason and logic possesses for any adult. Her remarks leave no doubt that she is still dealing with conflicts about her own sex on an infantile level; they bear all the signs of irrationality and magic which are so characteristic of the mental processes of small children.

Mastering of infantile material frequently delays and complicates adolescent adjustments. The resurrection of infantile material, as demonstrated here, is one of the common features of pre-adolescent fantasy life. In fact, it is the outstanding manifestation of the emotional development of that level. The appearance or persistence of infantile fantasy life into the adolescent period is an indication of a delayed and difficult development. Betty's sup-

¹⁸ The almost complete lack of material on the father in the case limits the understanding of Betty's development considerably. The lack of this important information is fully realized throughout this discussion.

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pression of her infantile fantasies, through tiring herself physically by exercises, may represent the desire to progress to the adolescent level, which is characterized by successful suppression of infantile longings and the search for objects of satisfaction (interests and love) outside the family on a more mature level.

The conflicts which necessarily accompany Betty's emotional maturation cause much confusion and tension at times. Then she withdraws from the field of conflict, as she did in her relationship to boys. This trend can also be observed in her academic work. She avoids real effort in Latin because it puts her into competition with Frank; she does not paint or draw in spite of her pleasure in it, because it may result in disappointment. Finally she withdraws from contact with boys and girls by giving up parties and centralizes her feeling of inadequacy upon a bodily mark, her mole.

In addition to other implications, an operation to remove the mole represents an attempt to restore the feeling of physical adequacy which Betty never regained after her illness. She had been a very attractive and charming child before her curls were cut off and illness destroyed her health. Previous to that illness, her mother had been proud of the child and had taken great care to dress her neatly, an indulgence which disappeared when Betty lost her charm and sweetness. The attempt at restoration is of course but another expression of Betty's feeling of physical inadequacy (being a girl), a problem which has been so dramatically illustrated by her fantasy life. This conflict, which complicates Betty's heterosexual adjustment in adolescence, is clearly the revival of an early conflict. The fact that she pretended, very early in kindergarten, to have created things she did not really accomplish is reflected again in her pretending to be somebody she is not, in her compromise solutions of a conflict: being a girl in boy's clothes or being a boy half the time and a girl the other half. Betty's indifference, superficiality, and timidity, which are recognized by her teachers, bear the features of the personal inadequacy which penetrates her general behavior.

In questions of standards and values, Betty repudiates her family, or rather her mother, who, after all, determines the kind of appreciations and interests for which the family, except Betty, stands. She turns away and defies her mother's expectations of her. This

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constitutes another expression of Betty's ambivalent attitude toward her mother and her attempt to establish independent standards. It is significant that the overt antagonism takes place at a time when Betty complains about her mother's lack of affection. A very similar reaction is reported from the post illness period when she constantly sought assurance of her mother's love and simultaneously misbehaved in the most embarrassing way. At that time she accused her mother, in front of guests who criticized her behavior, by saying: "These are the manners my mother taught me. If they are good enough for her, they are good enough for you."

Whenever Betty is faced with a new emotional demand or exposed to a frustrating experience, her need for affection necessarily increases simultaneously. The demands which she then makes upon her mother or other people are so unreasonable and all-embracing that they cannot be met to her satisfaction. This arouses resentment and hostility in her, supported by an essential lack of security and belongingness. Her breaking away from the family in questions of standards is not only a transfer of identifications from home to wider social groups, but an act which contains many elements of defiance. For this very reason, the process is invested with guilt, which causes her to withdraw temporarily from relationships and interests. However, her experimentation with boys and girls is likely to help her in solving some of the basic conflicts which were in the foreground of her emotional development at the time of the interviews.

It has become evident that the adolescent adjustments reported in the preceding section, and also the school records of the same period (grade ten), tie up closely with the total material. Some reactive tendencies which assumed a sharp outline at adolescence lost their peculiar and isolated character and could be traced, at least partly, to earlier life situations. It has become convincingly clear that there is a reactivation or reintensification, rather than a beginning of conflicts, at adolescence; therefore, Betty's adolescent behavior could be understood if viewed in the context of, and related to, her total life history.

The Case of Paul

I. Identifying Data

Paul is an only child 15-4 years old when entering the tenth grade in September 1935. His parents are both American born and live in a large city, where they were brought up. The father, eldest of six children, comes from a poor Austrian immigrant family. He did not attend college but went into business after completing high school. After many years of work, he developed his own small business; this was very severely struck by the depression. His income has always been very moderate. The father married at the age of twenty-eight.

The mother, who also comes from an Austrian immigrant family, is the seventh of eight children; she married at the age of twenty-five. She takes care of the household and is greatly interested in Paul's education, eager to provide him with any opportunity which may advance his education. This she does without exerting too much pressure on him. The mother likes music and used to play the piano in the family circle. She says: "I love music. It expresses all emotions to me."

Relatives of both parents play a great rôle and frequent reciprocal visits constitute some of the usual holiday events. Both paternal and maternal grandparents were orthodox Jews and Paul's parents both grew up under religious influence. The parents, however, have no religious affiliation. Some members of the family are still religious, but Paul's parents agreed to educate their son without any dogma. The mother sometimes wishes she were religious. She says: "We all have a feeling that there is something." Politically the parents have no strong convictions or ideals. Their philosophy has been definitely shaped by going through the depression. Their marriage is happy and life within the family is very satisfactory to everybody. The father has a cheerful disposition and forgets his business while he is at home. The family likes to do things together.

The school which Paul attends is a coeducational high school in a metropolitan area. Most of the children who attend the school

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come from families in better economic circumstances than Paul's. But there is no indication within the student-body of any discrimination based upon Paul's coming from a relatively poor home. Paul himself does not seem much concerned with this matter. A large proportion of his classmates at the tenth-grade level are sophisticated metropolitans. The girls are inclined to follow fashions and some of them can adequately afford this. The boys take girls out to dances, movies, and parties. Social life assumes a great importance for most boys and girls.

The school places much emphasis on academic standards and scholarship is esteemed. Athletics are of secondary importance and to be the football hero does not suffice for unrivaled prestige. Besides the academic program, the school offers a great variety of creative work in various fields. Paul ranks very high in his class, but in spite of his superior work, predominantly in the field of mathematics and physics, he is not the only bright boy in the group. There are students of equivalent mental capacity; the intellectual level of the group as a whole is high.

The teachers are oriented in their educational philosophy to seeing the students as individuals; many are quite sensitive toward and helpful with problems of growth and development in their students. An important part of the school life is constituted by the vital interest of many parents in the school's activities and by their coöperation with the school program. Almost all students intend to go to college, and the school helps them in their planning of the future and their choice of a vocation.

2. Interview Material (1935-36) with Interpretation

After the preliminary acquaintance with some circumstantial data concerning school and family, a direct approach to Paul's personality seems desirable. Therefore, this section will show how Paul himself reacts to present situations and diverse experiences. These situations are not contrived by chance but represent areas which Paul most obviously selects in order to work out his adolescent adjustments. The areas which will be considered closely in the following give an account of his present attitudes or present forms of adjustment in relation to Adults, Boys, Girls, Self, Adulthood and vocation, Intellectual interests, and Religion. The distribution of emphasis among the total number of areas¹ is indicative in itself; yet it gains further significance in the light of additional information which will be presented later.

The following material is derived from interviews with Paul which lasted over a period of one year. There were thirteen interviews altogether, each from half an hour to an hour in duration. They cover the time of his attendance in grade ten (age 15-4 to 16-1). The worker conducting the interviews was a woman of thirty-five.

In order to present the extensive material within the limits of available space, all references contained in the interview records were grouped together according to the manifest content.² Associative sequence, which no doubt represents a source of valuable indirect information, had at times to be disregarded for the sake of presentation. However, in important passages of the interviews context as well as sequence were preserved and the original conversation, kept in its integrity, given in full length.

¹ See "The case-study approach," p. 19.

² Many of the interviews were recorded verbatim and consequently quotations given are in the original. In such direct quotations, dashes indicate pauses and dots indicate that a passage has been omitted.

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ADJUSTMENT IN SELECTED AREAS DURING 1935-36

Adults

The nature of Paul's relationship to adults is not clear-cut and explicit. He is inclined to accept their standards generally; no open antagonism or attachment is ever disclosed. During the interviews he usually answers directly to the point and does not easily let himself become expansive. His tendency to conform to an expected adult pattern is expressed by inquiring, after he has reformulated the worker's questions, "This is what you mean, isn't it?"

From Paul's various remarks it could be concluded that he is critical of people, but never resentful or dejected. He has an understanding tolerance for their faults. During the summer of 1935 he worked as an assistant in the play school of a settlement house. There he met a teacher who "couldn't get along with anybody." When Paul suggested that the children be permitted to do more of the actual work in the shop, the teacher "went off in a huff and got mad." The boy's recommendation for correcting or preventing such uncontrolled behavior was a course which would teach "how to get along with people." According to Paul's philosophy, there is nothing basically bad in people; lack of information, of knowledge, and of thinking are responsible for human evils.

Paul prefers maintenance of childhood status to exchanging it for new patterns of conduct. At one point the worker asked, "Do you think that people sometimes relate their lives too much to other ages and to their parents' life?" Paul answered, "No. I think just the opposite. I think that today people are apt to throw over too much of the past, too much tradition."

Paul feels very unsure of himself in social relations with adults. Once he told the worker of a boy who, meeting a man in California whom he liked, had kept in touch with him and made friends. Paul continued, "I'd like to do that, but I can't." He shrugged his shoulders. "I just can't do it." When asked whether he were afraid of horning in, he answered quickly, "Yes, that's it."

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Boys

Paul has no particular friends. He is generally friendly with everybody. In talking about boys or girls in the school he never makes any derogatory remarks. He has, in fact, the philosophy of finding something worthwhile in everybody. He regrets that he has no personal friends. During the summer he goes about with boys in the neighborhood, but he has no time to do so in the winter. He would like to have a group of friends in his neighborhood. At school Paul feels that he belongs to a somewhat different group of people, because of the more modest economic and social status of his parents. He makes only a single reference to this fact. Among his relatives he has no friends either despite the close relationship which prevails in his parental family group. The only boy whom Paul likes to visit from time to time is a cousin, aged ten, who lives in town.

When Paul was asked what he thought about friends, he said, "I think friendship is one of the most important things in our lives. I have often thought about friendship. About two years ago I was worried because it seemed to me that I didn't have any friends in the school. I never seemed to do things with other people. I felt all right about it when I talked to Mother." His mother told him that everybody had the same feeling he had, and he realized that he was not alone in feeling friendless at times. "Well," he continued, "I realized that it was partly because I couldn't take athletics. The doctor had found a murmur in my heart and advised against athletics. The murmur did not persist very long and so this year I was able to return to gym. My, was I glad! You see we spend every afternoon in gym and the fellows kind of get together after sports."

Paul chooses potential friends "by their general bearing and by their wit and cleverness." He divides people into three classes: 1. People who are lots of fun at a party and who are witty in general, but who have no real interest in "good things." 2. People who are interested in "good things" but who are very hard to know. 3. People who have live interests, but who are not so hard to know. He defines "good things" as a live interest in politics, athletics, hobbies, studies. He adds: "For instance, the way Fred

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and I enjoy theoretical mathematics." Paul spends much time in discussing abstract and theoretical problems with Fred, who is one of his classmates.

Paul had a friendship one or two years ago with a boy in his neighborhood; it was the kind of friendship he "values." This friend loved to discuss ideas. Paul and he had many discussions, particularly about religion. The friend was "a confirmed atheist and I'm not such a confirmed one." The friendship dissolved: Paul moved away from the neighborhood, and, at the same time, the friend also moved somewhere else.

During the second half of the tenth grade Paul came to the worker one day with the news that he had made friends with Stanley. He said that he had known Stanley since the first grade. "I really consider this a new friendship." And he added, laughing, "It wasn't love at first sight." The friendship developed gradually. Paul was invited to a New Year's Eve party at Stanley's house. Later they went to round-houses together to learn about engines. Paul was not particularly interested in engines, but he enjoyed the trips with Stanley. Recently they have been playing music together. Stanley plays the flute and Paul the violin.

Paul's judgment of his fellow students is rather good. Talking about a student, he said: "I have sort of a defiant philosophy. I like David because he is not a snob. He has lots of money, but he really likes everybody. He learns from everyone and he makes you feel he likes you." He then asked the worker about Dick and added his own observations: "Dick is brilliant but he is very lazy. He is dissipating. [Paul had seen Dick in stores where gambling games are played.] Dick is trying to skip a year in school. He could do it if he weren't so lazy. It's a shame. He wastes himself so."

Paul likes to mingle with boys in class and in sports, but he wonders why "boys talk the way they do" about sex. He does not understand why boys get into huddles. He never got "in huddles" about sex. "I always went to my father when I wanted to know about sex and he was very frank with me." For these reasons he does not like the way the boys talk about sex in the school. He believes they usually have a "warped point of view" and "their facts are inaccurate." He thinks "how it happened" (intercourse) was what confused boys most. He feels "their jokes about inter-

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course have a bad effect" in that they tend to make one lose "respect for certain phases of sex." A "dirty boy" he defines as one who "tells a lot of dirty jokes," and a "clean boy" is one who "doesn't." He reported that the boys had been discussing the question, "If boys and girls mature at fourteen, why can't they have sex intercourse?" Paul's opinion was briefly: "They couldn't because of physical reasons." After a reluctant pause, he asked, "Isn't there a law against it, too?"

Throughout the interview situations in which the above questions were under discussion Paul spoke, as reported by the worker, with a marked objectivity and absence of feeling, or affect.

Girls

Paul's interest in girls is best expressed by his own words. He says, "I think I have a latent admiration for girls, for their grace and beauty, the way they walk and carry themselves," but "no," he does not take the girls out. He cannot afford the amusements which the girls like, but he adds honestly, "I don't think it's just money. I think if I were really interested in taking them out I would, but I'm not interested." Girls and women today, Paul thinks, are more interested in jobs than in home life. This he believes makes a genuine relationship difficult.

He mentions two girls in the school whom he considers beautiful; he feels that there is something interesting about them. Both these girls, according to the worker, resemble Paul's mother in general type. Referring to a third girl in his grade, Paul says: "She is very odd. She tries to be friendly and make friends with everybody, but, to be cruel, she's funny looking." After a pause he adds: "I suppose she has good qualities if people would look for them."

During the ninth grade Paul played the violin in a quartet which consisted of four boys from the school. When one boy dropped out, a girl was recommended as a possible member for the quartet. She was turned down by the group. Asked by the worker why she had been turned down, Paul answers, "Well, I think the reason for that was this: We didn't care to have a girl in the group. Well, I think in this case I'm glad there are just the three boys. . . . I imagine you would sort of have to cater to a girl a lot and things like that. . . ."

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In general Paul feels that any relationship with girls is better postponed until after school years, which are predominantly a period for learning. He continues, "My father has a sane view. He says that everything comes in its time. He has perspective. He found that for himself a certain course was wise." "Which course?" "To keep away from girls until you are quite old. He was in Europe during the war and he saw a lot of men ruined by the degradation of certain practices." When questioned, Paul is unwilling to explain what he means by "certain practices." He continues, "I know that some boys are not so lucky as to have a father like mine." Concluding, he says that his father was engaged to his mother before leaving for Europe and married her after his return, when he was twenty-eight years old. Paul thinks that is about the right age for marriage.

Self

In questions of character and self-mastery, Paul thinks we can "judge ourselves more correctly" than other people do. When asked to give an example, he said, laughing, "I am always making generalizations and not giving specific examples. Well, to be specific," he paused, "I think I'll make an analogy of how we can do something wrong and be praised for it or do something which other people think is wrong and we think is right --- if a German killed a Frenchman --- I'm going to change it. Supposing a German saw a wounded Frenchman and felt compassion for him and helped him all he could. Because it's war he might be criticized by his fellows but he'd know inside that what he did was right." Another analogy was this: "Supposing you played in a concert and everyone said, 'You played beautifully. I never heard you play so well.' But you knew there was little color or tone or musicality, if that's the word, in your playing; you would not be convinced by praise that you had really done well."

Paul is asked what he would look for in students applying for admission, if he were president of a college. Responding with great interest to this question, he says, "I'd be interested in that type of question. A student who applies has to have a lot of character and be very efficient but not be one of these boys that --- I mean, if he really wants to go to college, he'll really make something out

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of it. It is just the same idea with girls." "For what would you reject students?" "Well, poor work, of course, and then --- if he didn't have a good character or is a bad influence on the rest of the boys." "What do you consider a good character?" "Well, just a strong character, I mean, he shouldn't be weak in any way. He should be very manly and he should also add to the college. . . . Well, he could give all he has to it."

He feels that parents who educate children make an investment for later life, because the children will then support them. So he, Paul, has within himself invested values for which he is responsible. As long as parents keep investing, the child is still a child. This concept is expanded in Paul's answer to the question of when he thinks youth ends. He thinks you are young as long as "you are dependent for support on your father. I suppose you are young, too, as long as you are getting an education and still learning."

He has been wondering lately whether schools are more interested in developing the power to think, or in teaching students how to grow up. He thinks the latter is "more important." In spite of his good progress at school, he feels that he is not quite as mature as the other boys. The following excerpts from a verbatim report illustrate the point:

Worker: Does your family let you make your own decisions?

Paul: I think they do.

Worker: That's nice.

Paul: You see then, I think they've --- you see, I've never had experience in growing up before, I mean, we only live one life.

Worker: Didn't you say your family bosses you less than some do?

Paul: Yes, I think so. We have more in common than some of the others.

Worker: . . . for only children parents were such good friends with them and yet they didn't hang on to them so that they couldn't grow up . . . your parents let you make your own decisions . . .

Paul: Well, they'd say that, even though I'm making a very good impression on you, as it seems, I couldn't say that I'm entirely unspoiled.

Worker: Why?

Paul: Well I don't know. I think I'm a little self-centered.

Worker: How do you mean?

Paul: I don't know, thinking about yourself too much, I guess.

Worker: . . . do you ever have any arguments about things you want to do that your parents won't let you do?

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Paul: Well, I don't call them arguments, but sometimes I want to go out without my overcoat, and my mother wants me to put it on.

Worker: . . . some parents don't change and still treat boys and girls of your age like children.

Paul: Well, I think my mother and father both---I mean, I don't think I see any change, I think they've always helped me to see things for myself.

The point of view Paul expresses here is in keeping with what he thinks about the education of his own child. When asked this question, he pauses for quite a while and finally says: "I'd like to teach him his obligations and privileges so that he could understand relations with people. For instance, there are some things that people have to learn to do, when they are told to do them." Being unable to expand this topic he promises to think about it the next two weeks and discuss it later. At this point Paul becomes definitely blocked and is eager to change the subject.

In a discussion about tradition and individualism, about whether to continue without change what has been handed down by one's elders or to find new modes of behavior as times change, Paul favors tradition. He continues: "Well, I guess it isn't us so much as the times. You see, everything is speeded up. We've made great progress in a few years—physical progress, I mean—new buildings, new inventions in science. The question, of course, is whether we haven't speeded up so that now that we've invented war machines, we may destroy ourselves with our own inventions." Paul then explains that "before the earth existed, the universe existed for thousands of years. Man has only been on the earth five hundred thousand years—I believe that's the latest estimate. Then the Neolithic Stone Age, when you get the beginning of society when they first started to domesticate animals—was fifty thousand years ago. Then the first great civilization—it was 6000 B. C., and it lasted for quite a while. Then came the Greeks around 400 B. C. Then the Roman Empire came, and that civilization lasted a few hundred years. Then came the relapse in the Middle Ages, then the Renaissance. Then, in the nineteenth century, everything went very fast, just as it had been going increasingly fast until, in the twentieth century, everything speeded up very, very fast."

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The point which Paul is trying to illustrate is that human progress had its origin in the years between 500,000 B. C. and 50,000 B. C.; that the time intervals between the rapid growth and decline of civilization became increasingly shorter; that today we have a civilization in which progress has made the fastest jumps of any civilization, with the result that everything is speeded up.

In pursuing this problem further, Paul finally brings up "what I guess is a conflict I have." He continues, "I used to be a realist. During the depression, at first I was very cynical, but lately I've become an idealist. I'll tell you what I mean. I'm supposed to be brilliant, and I guess I am a bit—not a lot, but just a bit." He thinks that he can probably amount to something. This is what bothers him: Is it his duty to give himself to humanity at the expense of his own happiness? Or is it his duty to give himself to himself? "Perhaps, if I tried for something mediocre, and, say, became an electrical engineer, I could give more to my family and my friends. But," he continues, "if I tried to develop all my gifts so that I became a man of more professional skill [which is what he would "selfishly" like to do] then I would be using my gifts possibly at the expense of what I could give to humanity."

Although he agrees, for the most part, with the high opinion people at school and in his family have about him, Paul feels that he sometimes gives an impression of superficiality, which makes people lose their respect for him. "I think I'm a deep thinker [the worker notes that this was not said at all smugly], but I think sometimes I say silly things which make people not respect me." He fails to be specific on this point, but describes the silly things which he cannot remember as "acting the clown."

Paul expresses further self-criticism in discussing his lack of manual dexterity. This difficulty does not concern him much, he says; nevertheless, he talks about it at length. He knows that he is at his best in abstract fields such as mathematics and says of himself, "I'm sort of a theoretician. I'm not good with my hands. I don't use them well." Three years ago he was sick with a neck rigidity. The doctor told him it was a slight touch of infantile paralysis. After this he had a good deal of muscular incoördination, which has practically disappeared. "I'm only a little jittery now. Some-

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times the doctor tells me to sit still and after sitting still for a little while my fingers or my feet move a bit." Paul does not know of any technical diagnosis of this symptom.

It is of special interest to note throughout the foregoing that he shows a complete absence of feeling in discussing any topic which might be of personal significance. It is only indirectly that Paul expresses his emotions. Thus his anxiety is revealed in a recurrent dream which he said he used to have a few years ago and which he describes as follows: "I couldn't breathe, and everyone was coming toward me. I didn't know any of the figures in the dream, they were just a mob of people."

Paul has very vivid childhood memories; three of them are of outstanding clarity:

He was walking along a hall toward a glass dining-room the summer that "I was two years old." He thinks his parents were with him.

He remembers having whooping cough; he played in a triangular park on a hill and his pockets were full of handkerchiefs.

When he was four years old, he had a little auto and lived "on a side street which ran at right angles to a main thoroughfare." He would pedal his little automobile to the main thoroughfare and wait on the corner for his father's return from business. He remembers asking his father the number of the bus he took.

Adulthood and Vocation

Concern about his future is very directly expressed by Paul. He spends a great deal of time deciding what to do and what kind of preparation would be best in order to meet the competitive struggle which he has to face later.

Worker: Are you going to college?

Paul: Possibly.

Worker: Do you think it is more valuable to go to college, or do you think it's more valuable to go to work?

Paul: Well, that's one thing I've thought about a lot. I've thought sometimes that to get practical experience is more important than college. Like when you look through the classified ads you find out experienced men only need apply, you will find very few taken that haven't got experience. And the time to get experience is when

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you're young. But then again, college gives you training in certain things.

Worker: Well, would you go into business with your father, do you think?

Paul: That's possible.

Worker: . . . if you could make a lot of money in mass production, would you go in for that rather than into a job that requires a lot of individual work?

Paul: Well, you see, it all depends upon the way you look at the present job. I mean some people look at a job as just the way to make money so that they can live happily with their friends and their family, and some people think that the job is sort of their calling, their main idea in life. That is, there are two things. There is a social circle and your job, and the idea is which one you think important. Of course, I really haven't decided yet as I haven't had a job.

Worker: . . . Do you think money matters? What do you consider is "mine" now, right where you are now in life?

Paul: This suit.

Worker: That's yours. Well, now that wasn't paid for with your money, was it?

Paul: No. That is, in a sense it was. That is, it was paid with my allowance, but of course I didn't earn that allowance. It was given to me.

Worker: Well, do you consider your allowance yours?

Paul: No --- Well, it might be sort of an investment by my parents, that is so I can keep up through my education --- that's really invested in my education, but some day I'll be able to support them, that is when they get too old, so that it really isn't mine.

Worker: It's a kind of loan?

Paul: Yes, it's sort of an indirect form of loaning money. The trouble is, it isn't sure. That is, some children, when their parents get old, they just neglect them.

Worker: Do you think we have a sort of an obligation to our parents?

Paul: Yes, if for no other reason but the reason that they support us for at least twenty years.

Worker: . . . You think it is important to marry?

Paul: Oh, yes.

Worker: Why?

Paul: Well, I mean I think that to marry is sort of to get a family circle of your own rather than being part of some other family circle, that is, I mean part of my mother's and my father's and my aunt's and uncle's family circles, sort of starting of a new one. And of course the thing is, if America is going to keep up having people, we have to have new children, and that's another thing.

Worker: Is there anything which you have that you feel is particularly good and which you would give your children?

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Paul: One of the things I'd like to give them would be an educational opportunity.

Worker: Is there any point of view about life or yourself, which your parents gave you, that you think is particularly valuable?

Paul: Well, yes. Well, I think that is what we have already discussed, the way they created me so that I could come where I am, and they haven't given me too much discipline or too little. But of course that's just a side question, but it's important, really.

Worker: How is it important?

Paul: Well, I mean, it's really the molding of the whole character of the person.

Worker: . . . What makes for a success? [Receiving no response, worker continues.] Is it through cultural things?

Paul: I don't believe that.

Worker: [Refers to the children whom Paul had met in the settlement play school and their environment as a possible handicap in life.]

Paul: Well, that environment isn't the best, I mean it's not really what you would call best, I guess not, it isn't a very good environment, but it sort of teaches people a lot of facts when they're around them.

Worker: What kind?

Paul: Well, how to associate with people---in fact almost---I can't think of anything else. I mean I don't think much about it.

In thinking of the future, Paul repeatedly expresses the fear of not finding a job. The postponement of adult status also bothers him, since his conception of maturity is closely related to economic independence. He feels that before 1926 adulthood began much earlier, because jobs were available and people could marry; today adulthood begins much later. Most people are only beginning economic adulthood at thirty. He thinks that the depression has affected the point of view of boys in his generation. "We live in a new situation," he says. "When my father was young, he was very poor; but everybody believed in those days that you could get rich and there was more opportunity. It was the period of the Economic Revolution and there was still room for expansion. Those were the days when the little bootblacks became millionaires, though my father didn't start with as low a position as a bootblack."

When asked about his father's business, Paul says that his father has never been wealthy but that he has been able to become much better off financially than when he started to work. He repeats that his father's business has improved of late.

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"Today there isn't the same opportunity to get rich. Boys of twenty in college don't think any more that they can go out and lick the world. They're more sensible. And boys in high school worry about what they will do after college."

Paul frequently asks himself what are the forces by which his life becomes regulated. He feels that some power created man, but that that power is not interested in "the millions of little ants running around the earth." He does not feel that the fact that a "boy was born in 1920 and went to this school and later became an engineer or business man" was due to any preordained plan. He thinks rather that what we become is in ourselves. "We can go to the dogs or make something of ourselves." At other times Paul changes his opinion and asks himself whether people become doctors, lawyers, etc., because of native ability or because of outside stimuli.

Intellectual Interests

Throughout the interviews Paul does not talk as much as one would expect about his intellectual interests. He casually mentions his interests in mathematics and in theoretical physics, and his discussion of these topics with other people. He himself knows that his capacity in these fields is outstanding and that his teachers have invested great hopes in his career.

During a general talk about learning³ Paul remarks that you "swallow" some learning; some you "chew neatly"; and some you "spit out." He "swallows" science, he "chews" writing "neatly," and he "spits out" art.

He first grew interested in science in the sixth grade, when he made a circuit for electric trains. He wishes to be an engineer and would "like to make electric generators," which he describes as "instruments which create power." He has never liked to write themes. In referring to his dislike of art, he remarks that his mother always said she never could "do art" because she was hampered by the teaching methods. He cannot understand why he has never been able to "do art," since that type of hampering is not practiced

³ Following the reproduction of his dream and his early memories; see above, p. 124.

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here in the school. In spite of his dislike of the visual arts, Paul shows great interest in music. He plays piano and violin and takes lessons in both.

Paul: Well, you see I take piano too, and I don't know, about two years ago I thought I'd like to take the violin. Of course, I've always liked the violin.

Worker: Did you go to concerts when you were little?

Paul: Oh yes, my mother got me a subscription to some sort of a concert when I was a little boy and ever since I was about seven or eight, and I enjoyed them very much.

Worker: Are your family musical?

Paul: Well, my mother's side is.

Worker: . . . What is the pleasure you get out of music, if you were to put it into words?

Paul: Well, I suppose more or less just the --- I don't know --- sort of when you see something beautiful --- it has beauty to the ear, I suppose.

Worker: Does it relax you?

Paul: Yes, some of it does and some of it doesn't, of course. . . . In the case of music, I like music for its own sake because I do know something about it. I guess you are sort of lost when you don't know anything about it, sort of enjoy the thing as a panorama, but when you know, you say, "Oh, isn't that violinist good, isn't that trombone noisy?" or something like that --- like for instance if you are in the line of, for instance, medicine --- it's not the same thing because it isn't art, but some things to the common person seem so wonderful but you know, when you know medicine, it's just common --- you explain it sort of --- and you sort of lose some of the worship that you used to have for it.

Paul is very much interested in languages, French and Latin. He has an older cousin who studies linguistics and who seems to represent somewhat of an ideal to Paul. Last summer when the family did not go away for a vacation, Paul decided to write a pamphlet on peace; this was inspired by a class discussion. He wrote it and named a fictitious coauthor of the article. When asked about this, he explained that the people buying the pamphlet would not think it represented a biased opinion if two names appeared as authors. He sold the copies, which he had made himself, from door to door, avoiding any of his mother's friends in order to prove his ability as a salesman. He sold all of them. His first sentence after he rang the bell was, "Do you want your boy to be compelled to

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go to war?" During the tenth grade, Paul wrote a peace pamphlet in coöperation with some other students; his contribution was an article entitled "War—What It Costs."

Paul has often wondered, "What is the first year when people know that they are alive?" Talking about a course in biology (Grade IX), he expresses strong disappointment in it. He did not like biology, partly because "I can't draw and you have to put down what you see. Then I'm interested in the way life begins. I'd have liked to have started with the way life begins and work up, but we started with mammals and worked down," which did not hold his interest. At this point the worker asks him, "How does life begin?" Paul laughs. "Now we come to philosophy, don't we?" He is glad to be taking physics this year instead of biology.

Paul is generally interested in politics, domestic and foreign. He is emphatically opposed to fascism and believes in democracy. "Fascism is really a menace to civilization. It causes war and then another world war would probably mean the destruction of our civilization." He thinks a form of government should favor the survival of the fittest. He believes that democracy does this most effectively. "Fascism is survival not necessarily of the fittest but of the man with the iron fists." He does not know exactly how liberal a democracy should be. "Well, a liberal is sort of a person who hasn't got any ideas of his own but he can sort of see everybody's point of view. Sometimes it's good to be a liberal and sometimes it's wishy-washy. I mean sometimes you really feel you want to take sides, you want to have something to fight for and against."

Religion

Whenever a point of great emotional charge is touched in the interview, Paul resorts to a discussion of philosophical or religious implications. In fact, thoughts of this kind come to his mind very frequently and he is almost always ready to discuss them. Questions to which he devotes quite some time are those related to deity, reincarnation, immortality, moral law, free will, and the like. At times he feels mentally overactive because of his preoccupation with such problems and finds it hard to relax. He cannot fall asleep at night for some time after he goes to bed. "I have so many thoughts I can't go to sleep."

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Worker: Are there any values which your parents have given you that you will not pass on to your children?

Paul: Well, come to think of it, I can't think of anything.

Worker: Well, is there anything new that you want to give your children that you haven't had?

Paul: Well, when you think about it, this whole thing boils down to the question of whether times will be the same in those days, because different times I guess you need different things. --- I think I would have liked to have a better background in religion, when I think of it --- not any existing religion, but more of the general idea, I mean of the deity, and things like that to guide people --- But you see, I've had so little background in it at all, and what little I've had was doing some thinking about religion, --- because Mother and Dad don't pay much attention to religion, and I think it's really pretty important. . . . What I've always been trying to find out is if you have a universe, what created it and how was life created? But though I've never gotten a satisfactory explanation, I don't seem to understand any of the divine elements. But I think that there was some sort of, that is I want to think there was something that created the universe.

Worker: Something personal?

Paul: No, something that's not material. Nothing sort of personal either.

Worker: Well, why ---

Paul: Well, I guess, there are really standard questions that pertain to the reason that are entirely different. They are usually hooked up together. Like first of all the creation. And well, before birth and after death whether it's nothing or whether it's --- what's that word again? Comes after death?

Worker: Reincarnation?

Paul: That it's reincarnation. Or whether it's some other life somewhere else, which I don't believe. Or what it is. Now I'm inclined to believe that there's no special reason for not being mortal, I mean for living after death. Sometimes it seems unendurable, but we generally can't help mankind after death. Of course that's very hard to believe that there is only mortality . . . The belief in immortality helps mankind.

On another occasion Paul comments on the same question: "The trouble with people now is that they believe that there is no life after death. They feel that death is the end of consciousness. You spend some seventy-odd years being. Then all of a sudden you stop and the world goes on without this particular part of con-

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sciousness. Then you wonder why all these consciousnesses come in and out of the world."

Worker: . . . How old were you when you began to wonder?

Paul: Oh, as long back as I can remember I always wondered about it.

But I think it would have been important to have beliefs even though not necessarily true ones. I think it rather important to believe in something and figure God out. It doesn't have to be true, because when man is dead it doesn't make any difference anyhow.

Worker: Would you rather have been taught dogmatic religion and sent to temple?

Paul: Well, not that kind of religion --- that, of course, is easily broken down when you study science and things like that. But sort of this spirit. As I say, some kind of belief in a guiding thing.

Worker: As put in your life?

Paul: Yes, but it wouldn't have to be necessarily your sect.

Worker: Have you taken up science?

Paul: Yes.

Worker: Do you like it?

Paul: Yes. Parts of it are especially interesting.

Worker: Which part?

Paul: Of course, there's chemistry. I'm not especially interested in biology from the practical viewpoint, but it is interesting to try to wonder how life first appeared.

Worker: [Suggests the book, *Man the Unknown*, by Carrel.]

Paul: I'm sort of half afraid to look in too deeply for fear I'd lose completely any faith that there is something like that ---

Worker: Like what?

Paul: Like some divine power ---.

Paul thinks, "There is a universal law and there is a moral law which man creates for himself. For instance, one of the moral laws is that it's wrong to kill." This developed because "way, way back, to kill a man you had to strangle him to death or throw him in a river so he'd be drowned. Then flint was discovered and weapons made so that you could kill a man with a snap of the wrist. The law 'Thou shalt not kill' was developed so that men wouldn't wipe out mankind."

All these various ideas have occasionally been discussed by Paul with other boys. Some temporary friendships were even established on this basis. He was not interested in whether his partner shared his ideas, but the latter had to be rather on his level in con-

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ducting a conversation and in using arguments intelligently. "For instance, I used to talk about God with one of my friends. He seemed to think that when you think of it there doesn't seem to be really any explanation. He used to think that just, well --- that maybe --- itself --- sort of --- but it's kind of hard to understand, but for instance, he said, 'Well, who made the world?' I said, 'Something, some spirit made the world.' He said, 'Who made the spirit?' And of course that's unanswerable."

INTERPRETATION OF INTERVIEW MATERIAL

At different times during the interviews, Paul repeatedly expresses, directly or indirectly, his strong identification with the standards, ideals, and attitudes of adults, especially of his mother and father. In answering directly to the point, in reformulating the worker's questions, and in his remarks about the education of his own child he shows clearly a tendency to accept adult standards in dealing with immediate personal concerns. He would hand on to his child the education which he has received, except in one point, religion. He makes special reference to discipline and thinks "they haven't given me too much discipline or too little." Like his parents, he would consider educational opportunity the best thing he could give to his child. In this attitude he preserves the tradition which he thinks people of today are apt to throw over too easily.

It is obviously parental influence which determines, too, Paul's attitude toward girls. He accepts his father's code of sex conduct and postpones relationships with girls "until you are quite old." His concept of girls as a potential danger ("men ruined by the degradation . . .") is partly responsible for Paul's "just not being interested in them." So he rejects a girl who applies for membership in the quartet because "you would sort of have to cater to a girl a lot and things like that." His only explicit criticism of girls of today is that they are interested in their jobs instead of in their homes, unlike his mother who is predominantly a housewife and whose main interest centers around her home and family. Paul's selection of girls for whom he has a "latent admiration" is based primarily on their resemblance to his mother. His remarks about

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girls and marriage are void of any feeling element and his phraseology is extremely artificial and vague. This may indicate a sense of inadequacy and conflict in relation to the topics under discussion. Such a conclusion is indicated by his blocking at given points: questioned about "certain practices" he quickly shifts away from the topic by assuring the worker of his pride in his father's moral code, and says, "I know that some boys are not so lucky as to have a father like mine."

Seemingly, Paul has a very good relationship with both parents: the family is his main source of support and security. His two friendships of rather long standing are with relatives—two cousins, one younger and one older than Paul. The latter represents an ideal chosen on the basis of mutual interest in linguistics.

The material suggests that Paul is fundamentally a compliant boy; he accepts his parents' standards as his own without challenge or criticism. This results in a personal code of values which is characteristically dictated by his strong parental dependency. One point of his code is the explicit attempt to find something good in everybody. After having criticized a girl, he concludes, "I suppose she has good qualities if people would look for them." In spite of his intentionally friendly attitude, he has no friends. Despite his self-imposed code of tolerance for others, Paul makes strict demands on himself. Reading over his criteria for admittance to college we become familiar with what he expects in a prospective student: "a lot of character," "very efficient."

Paul chooses his friends on the basis of the values which guide his own conduct, on their interest in "good things." He rejects boys who "get into huddles about sex." He even classifies boys as "dirty" and "clean," depending on the kind of jokes they tell. He does not make friends frequently or easily; but his few friendships, even if they are only temporary, are always based primarily on shared interests. If the common interest is exhausted, the friendship dies out. Such interests are represented especially by discussions, which cover the fields of theoretical mathematics, science, religion, philosophy, and by music. These are the friendships he "values." But his attachment to people, both adults and age-mates, is very limited: "I just can't do it," he comments, in telling of a boy who could take the initiative in seeking out friendships. Paul's economic status

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as a determining factor in his being without friends seems rather negligible. Not only at school, but generally, he feels alone; he has "never seemed to do things with other people" and has had to resort to talking "it over with Mother" in order to find relief. His need to turn to his mother rather than to age-mates for reassurance may be influenced by the fact that he is an only child. Paul seems to require the assurance that he is liked, before he can attempt an attachment. In describing a friend named David, he emphasizes the fact that "he makes you feel he likes you."

In spite of Paul's lack of personal friends, he enjoys being with boys in athletics. The period during which he had to refrain from gym, three years ago, apparently deprived him of an important activity ("... this year I was able to return to gym. My, was I glad!"). Paul's health history⁴ is needed in order to evaluate the significance of his curtailed physical activity in the light of his motor incoordination at that time.

Because of insufficient personal relationships and his emotional dependency upon childhood patterns, Paul resorts to "thinking" as a means of solving the problems which confront him. He believes his thinking power to be considerable: "I am a thinker," "I am a theoretician." When he becomes blocked in one interview, he cuts the discussion off by saying, "I'm not prepared to talk. I haven't thought about the subject." He then promises to think about it and to discuss it later.

The material suggests that "thinking" represents a process of a very personal and distinct quality for Paul. He questions whether the school is primarily "interested in developing the power to think, or in teaching students how to grow up." The antithesis between "thinking" and "growing up" becomes clearer in his subsequent remarks in the interview, the sequence of which follows: The worker praises Paul's parents for the good results their training has achieved, whereupon he reacts with a mild self-accusation, "I couldn't say that I'm entirely unspoiled." He feels that he is "spoiled" because he is self-centered and thinks too much about himself. In the light of these remarks it seems that Paul experiences his thinking in terms of a preoccupation with himself on an intel-

⁴ See below, pp. 199, 216-19.

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lectual level. In his own mind this is a highly undesirable tendency and he wishes he could overcome it. Perhaps, then, his saying of "silly things," his "acting the clown" can be understood as forms of self-punishment used to relieve the guilt evoked by "thinking" as a preoccupation with himself. Paul can neither understand nor explain why he says the silly things which, he feels, "make people not respect" him. Yet this is an indictment which must weigh heavily upon him, in the light of his standards. The fact that Paul puts himself into degrading situations, intelligent though he is, must be kept in mind as characteristic behavior.

In addition "thinking" has in Paul's mind a characteristic connotation which must be considered at this point. He either "swallows," "chews," or "spits out" any learning. He swallows science easily like liquid food; science, especially mathematics, is his favorite subject. He spits out art, a subject in which his mother could never succeed. Intellectual activity is related to modes of reaction characteristic of an infantile level; it is symbolic of and equivalent to taking in food.

In connection with the foregoing, Paul's comment about youth gains new significance. He says that one is young as long as he gets support from his father; "I suppose you are young, too, as long as you are getting an education and still learning." Learning (food, provided by parents) is a symbol of being a child; any mature demands or strivings have to be postponed until after college, when educational "food" is no longer provided. We will see later how the same conflict between the wish to remain a child and the desire to grow up penetrates the alternative between "experience" and "education" in regard to his own future.

In a discussion about individualism versus tradition Paul discusses the situation in which he finds himself at the moment and describes, indirectly, the fears which are connected with his maturation. "You see, everything is speeded up. We've made great progress in a few years—physical progress. . . . The question, of course, is whether we haven't speeded up so that now . . . we may destroy ourselves with our own inventions." From here on Paul goes into a lengthy discussion about man's prehistoric existence until he finally discloses "what I guess is a conflict I have." He

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then goes on to describe his own history, how first as a child he was a realist, how during the depression he became cynical (age 11-13), and how lately he has become an idealist. This results in the following conflict: Shall I give myself to humanity at the expense of my own happiness or shall I give myself to myself? In these alternatives there is an implicit conflict between living up to other people's standards and expectations ("I'm supposed to be brilliant") and accepting one's own impulses to pursue one's own happiness and satisfaction. This interpretation becomes further substantiated by his fear that he will not give anything to humanity (his family) if he should do what he "selfishly" would like to do. Through the monumental detour of the progress of mankind, he finds the emotional conflict in which he himself is involved at the present time: Shall I live for my parents, for their satisfaction; or shall I accept my impulses and break away, striving for selfish goals ("own happiness")? Attention should be called to how contradictory and involved Paul's arguments become while talking about his "conflict" and how he substitutes "humanity" for "family," altering somewhat the sense of what he started out to say.⁵

The foregoing investigation of some of Paul's ideas, which he himself reduces finally to a personal conflict, has brought us somewhat closer to an understanding of his interest in problems of broader implications. In dealing with those problems he apparently projects his immediate conflicts and fears into the field of the abstract and the impersonal; here everything can be reasoned out, can be settled by discussion and argument. Paul's use of language also supports this consideration: his phraseology is often very vague and he contradicts himself a great deal. Many of the sequences in his thoughts are utterly incoherent, suggesting that the thing he really attempts to say is never being said. He likes to start off with a generalization, then wander off in another direction (e. g., "I have a defiant philosophy . . ."). These features of speech in a boy with

⁵ Compare the following scheme of thoughts:

1. I am said to be brilliant—I can amount to something.
2. If I sacrifice my own happiness: "if I tried for something mediocre"—I can give myself to humanity (family).
3. If I become selfish for the sake of my own happiness: "if I tried to develop *all* my gifts"—I cannot give to humanity (family).

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a high intellectual endowment can be considered indicative of inner strain and conflict.⁶

Paul feels this conflict as a concern about "speeded up physical progress" (maturation) which will result in self-destruction. This reveals the threat which maturation holds for him. The thought of death is recurrent. Only authority ("Isn't there a law against it?" and the command, "Thou shalt not kill") can insure that men will not "wipe out mankind." Paul's fear concerning his own aggressive tendency is condensed in his speculations about immortality, life after death, and the like. These fears must have been augmented considerably by his extreme compliance and repressed emotionality; they are indicated by such expressions as ". . . it seems unendurable [to be mortal] but we generally can't help mankind after death," and by his recurrent dream in which he "couldn't breathe."

Paul's hesitation to assert himself by open aggressive action is further expressed in his remark: "sometimes you really feel you want to take sides, you want to have something to fight for and against." Paul fights for peace. His concern with the question of aggression and destruction becomes so vital at times that it inspires him repeatedly to write about peace. In selling his peace pamphlet, he asked at the door, "Do you want your boy to be compelled to go to war?" The element emphasized as a sales "catch word" in this question is the fact that a boy will be compelled to be aggressive and destructive, and therefore will be "wiped out"; this is the very thing of which he himself is afraid at the time: that physical progress, with increasing strength of impulses, may ultimately lead to uncontrollability and self-destruction.⁷

In the frequent discussions concerning his own future, Paul clearly expresses the acute conflict of the present. First he asks himself whether he should "think" or "grow up"; whether he should get an "education," meaning prolonged childhood, submissiveness, and dependence; or whether he should get "experience,"

⁶ See "Speech analysis and interpretation," by Stanley Newman, pp. 214-216.

⁷ It should not be overlooked that the content of Paul's reasoning possesses, besides the personal meanings discussed above, many constructions showing a keen observation and a sound judgment. Such intellectual ability is to be expected from a boy of Paul's high mental endowment.

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representing independence and acceptance of his own maturity. He considers educational opportunity invaluable but does not believe that one becomes a success because of "culture"; perhaps "facts" which children in poorer sections of the city pick up at an early age are more important.⁸

There are several attempts on Paul's part to work through his troubling situations. At one time he expresses his belief in free will: "We can go to the dogs or make something of ourselves." This striving toward independence is offset by a sudden discouragement and a wondering about the relative importance of native ability versus outside stimuli. Hopelessness becomes at times intensified by the realization that by growing up he will deprive himself of parental protection; this he expresses by saying that the power which created us is not interested in us and, realizing his evolving responsibilities, he comes to believe that ultimately everything is left to ourselves to accomplish and to plan.

A reiteration of his conflicting impulses to remain a child and to grow up is expressed by Paul's uncertainty as to whether his job should provide him with money, so that he may live happily; or whether his job should be his "main idea in life," regardless of his personal happiness with people ("social circle"). Interesting in this connection is Paul's idea that the expenses his parents have had in connection with his upbringing are a form of indirect loan, an investment which he has to pay back.⁹ As long as his parents keep on investing, he is still a child. His own maturity begins as soon as he can reverse the relationship and return what he has received.

This is only one more manifestation of Paul's feeling that he does not belong to himself, a rationalization of his emotional dependency on the family. It becomes clear at this point that the immediate conflict situation, which becomes depersonalized and related to the future and to an interest in history and philosophy, rep-

⁸ ". . . it sort of teaches people facts when they are around them." "What kind?" "Well, how to associate with people [the very thing Paul himself cannot do] --- in fact almost --- I can't think of anything else. I mean I don't think much about it."

⁹ This is a fairly well established concept in many families. Therefore it deserves attention only on account of the emphasis which Paul places upon it as an obligation preventing the attainment of his "own happiness."

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resents his ambivalence toward his growing up. The alternatives which express his ambivalent attitude are reiterated in various contexts throughout the interviews. It must, of course, be granted that there are very realistically conceived perplexities which Paul expresses in relation to the economic system of our times. The fact that Paul has lived through the depression, with its general insecurity, must not be underestimated in considering his reaction to the future. Admittedly, then, objective realities constitute part of his concern, yet a large part is due to the fears which he detaches from his immediate personal conflicts and projects into the future. These, as psychic realities, are important for an understanding of Paul's behavior.

As a possible means for offsetting his fears Paul turns to an interest in religion. He searches for a "sort of this spirit . . . some kind of belief in a guiding thing." In this desire, he expresses the need for an authoritative force (conscience) to assist him in his ambivalent state of emotional instability.¹⁰

His desire to believe in something "not necessarily a true belief" indicates that he remains partly unsatisfied by his endeavors in logical subjects, such as mathematics and physics. It is in the field of religion that Paul manifests his single criticism of his parents: he would like to have had a better background in religion, though not necessarily any existing religion. What, then, does he mean by religion? Paul expects to derive from religion, as he conceives it, an answer to the questions: "Is there a universe? What created it? How was life created?" He has never received a satisfactory explanation. He has wondered "as long back as I can remember." He finds it "interesting to try to wonder how life first appeared." When a revealing, scientific book is suggested to him, he rejects such help, because he is "sort of half afraid to look in too deeply for fear I'd lose completely any faith. . . ." He also loses interest in biology because the course does not start with the study of how life begins. Asked by the worker "How does life begin?" Paul laughs and says, "Now we come to philosophy, don't we?"

This attempt to divert the discussion into the abstract is typical of Paul. It is equivalent to the occasional blockings which occur

¹⁰ How far his religious attitudes have been influenced by his orthodox relatives and grandparents cannot be determined here.

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during the interviews, and which are tantamount to an evasion of the issue. The vagueness of the ideas, together with the confusion and incoherence which his discussion of them illustrates, suggests that they may be indirect expressions of sexual curiosity. Such disguise is common and familiar through frequent use. However, this constitutes only one component of his religious strivings. Significantly, his curiosity cannot be satisfied "scientifically" because it contains primarily infantile elements of inquiry into birth, death, before-birth, after-death. Due to Paul's indirect dealing with these problems, he rejects boys who "get into huddles about sex," arguing that their "facts are inaccurate." Paul himself rejects correct information (scientific books) and gets into huddles about religion and philosophy. Religion as an interest which his parents do not share is furthermore an attempt of his to establish an independent emotional experience, one which apparently criticizes his parents' indifference: "I think it's really pretty important."

In spite of the limited scope of the material, some conclusions can be drawn from what has been said thus far. It must be borne in mind, however, that any such statement is tentative in nature. In order to validate any inference which has been made so far, the corroboration of further data from different sources—e. g., observations, self-expressive material, health history and the like—is imperative. With this precaution in mind it can be said in summarizing that Paul is withdrawing from personal relationships to boys and girls because he is emotionally dependent on his parents and, therefore, unable to conform to the standard social patterns of his peer group. This dependency, though based on rather satisfactory family relationships, could not fail to create conflicts at adolescence. His ambivalence toward his maturation is expressed in the worries about his future (education versus experience, cultural values versus facts, etc.). Fears related to his maturation become manifest in terms of abstract problems. His search for transcendental certainties is invested with infantile elements of unresolved and reactivated sexual curiosity. The very strong aggressive component of his emotional life is almost completely repressed and becomes subject to indirect expression (peace, history) and to fears concerning self-destruction. Simultaneously with these apparently

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incoherent, contradictory, and vague ideas Paul strives for self-assertion in fields which call especially for a power in logical thinking and intellectual versatility. There he experiences success.¹¹

Some basic aspects of Paul's personality as revealed by the interviews have provided at least a starting point. His relation to the school, the functional rôle of music, his health condition, and other aspects of his total life as well must be examined in the light of further material in order to validate or modify what has been said.

¹¹ Paul's early memories are remarkable in regard to the geometrical references in them: "triangular park," "a side street which ran at right angles to a main thoroughfare." Paul's main interest is mathematics, but no definite relation between those two facts is intended at this point.

3. Observational Material of Secondary School (1932-36) with Interpretation

OBSERVATIONAL MATERIAL (I-XXXI)

1932-33, Grade VII. Age 12-4¹²

I

September, 1932

Name: Paul

Age: 12-4¹²

School: Junior high school in metropolitan area, coeducational.

Siblings: None

Place of birth: City where he still attends school

Concerning parents:

Marital status: United

Mother: 37¹²

Father: 42¹²

Place of birth: City in which they still live

Occupation: Father: Independent small business

Mother: Housewife

Income level: Very moderate

Religious affiliation: None

Concerning paternal and maternal grandparents:

Place of birth: Austria

Religious affiliation: Jewish, orthodox

II Report of Mr. Miller (science) January, 1933

Paul is outstanding in his science work. Very active in class and somewhat overanxious to present his material. Makes intelligent attacks on all problems.

III Report of Mr. Post (physical education) January, 1933

Considering his handicaps [see XXIX] he is doing nicely. Has lately been doing dumb things just to gain the spotlight of attention. He surprised me by his rugged playing and ability.

IV Report of Mr. Mohr (music) January, 1933

I have always given Paul credit for excellent intentions. I am

¹² Ages refer to the time of the beginning of this report, student entering grade seven in September, 1932.

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not as sure about it. His voice is extremely raucous and he has been told repeatedly that energetic use of it damages the class product. But he has to be reminded of it a dozen times every period. I find it difficult to believe that he is doing his share to help the situation. He has better than average ability.

- V Composite summary of home report February, 1933
Paul has attained above average rating in history, mathematics, science; below average in English and art; satisfactory rating in all other subjects.
- VI Comment of Mr. Farell (printing) May, 1933
Paul is persistent, accurate, with a sympathy toward English grammar. His work is carefully and neatly done. He tends to be contentious. He has a tendency to explain and give information to others without request.
- VII Comment of Miss Murray (home-room teacher) May, 1933
Paul was not robust as a young boy, but seems robust and very well now. This difficulty with motor control in his early life made his parents lenient with his use of table manners. When the trouble was brought to his attention, it was remedied.

1933-34, Grade VIII. Age 13-4

- VIII Comment of Miss Ternay (home-room teacher) January, 1934
Paul is very intelligent. Showed unusual ability in medieval history. Has a keen sense of humor and real intellectual interest. He has a good many friends and is respected by other children. He is somewhat quick tempered, but always sincerely contrite when cool. A nervous condition with poor motor coördination improved a great deal last year.
- IX Report of Mr. Freeman (French) January, 1934
Unusually eager and active intelligence. Happy and well adjusted. His only fault is lack of consideration for others in claiming undue portion of teacher's attention and class time. This is probably due to his exceptional academic capacity and desire to learn.
- X Letter from mother to principal (excerpt) February, 1934
. . . Paul has been examined again by our doctor. His choreic condition has not sufficiently cleared. His motor coördination has not developed at a satisfactory rate. Therefore the physician suggests that Paul refrain from athletics for a while.
- XI Comment of Mr. Tucker (associate principal) April, 1934

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Paul is a nervous child with no motor control. Has had some kind of nervousness that wouldn't permit him to sit in a chair for any length of time. He has outgrown this to some extent. Paul is very well liked by his teachers but very unpopular with his classmates. He does not get along with them as well as he should. He is well meaning but he has a habit of making caustic remarks to which they object, and his sharp tongue is not liked by the other children. I feel that this is not due to unfriendly feelings of the boy but because he is mentally way ahead of his classmates and seemingly their stupidity bothers him. It has also to be taken into account that Paul is recovering from chorea. This shuts him off from athletics, which give a common bond between the boys.

I have recommended Paul this year as an applicant for a scholarship at a camp. The student was rejected after an interview with the heads of the camp. It was felt that he was too self-centered and he seemed to have made the impression upon the heads of the camp that he had made upon his classmates. . . . Paul is somewhat baffled by the fact that he is not liked.

XII Letter from Mr. Tucker (associate principal) to Paul's mother

May, 1934

I have had a talk with Miss Ternay about Paul's adjustment to his classmates. Miss Ternay's characterization is that the adjustment is generally good and that she has seen nothing this year that would give her concern about Paul's relation with his classmates. Paul at times uses a sharp tongue but he is recognized as having a kind and really affectionate disposition. His classmates realize his fundamental good will. Since he can say cutting things, he is not always recognized as having a sensitive nature himself. He is sometimes not perfectly clear in what he says and his good intentions are therefore sometimes not apparent to his fellows. This awkwardness of expression is really a minor fault. But if Paul feels at all oppressed with a sense of defeat in his relations with others he should make a habit of thinking how his words may possibly sound to others before he speaks. But generally Paul should be encouraged to stop worrying about this question. . . .

XIII Reply of mother to above letter

May, 1934

Dear Mr. Tucker:

I thank you for your letter relative to Paul's social problem. Your analysis helped us greatly in our understanding

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of the matter. We have discussed it with Paul, and we feel that he has been reassured.

1934-35, Grade IX. Age 14-4

- XIV Letter from mother to principal September, 1934
Paul's physician finds that his choreic condition has not entirely cleared. He therefore recommends that Paul refrain from too much strenuous activity. May Paul stay at home the two first periods on Tuesday which are given up to soccer, returning to school in time for Latin?
- XV Report of Miss Jones (English) December, 1934
Paul has a keen delight in words. His Latin teacher reports that he learns declensions and conjugations with the greatest ease. He is writing an epilogue for the *Odyssey*. Yesterday he came up to ask how the cattle for a hecatomb could be transported to the place of sacrifice. When I suggested that they might be driven in a herd and killed at the place of sacrifice, he said, "Driven along the roads?" seemingly surprised. He is in great demand as tutor before school and at noon. He takes a very professional attitude, "Now be sure you know the difference between the ablative and the dative there." He does not make close friends or seem so much interested in people as in ideas and books. When I return from lunch, he is sitting at his desk, often alone in the room, humming to himself and working at his Latin or Math.
- XVI Comment of Mr. Craven (mathematics) February, 1935
Paul has one of the best minds in his grade. He could just as easily be doing the next grade's mathematics. He is inclined to be boisterous and to do things and say things that will cause him to be the center of attraction. I often think he must be bored by the simple work of his grade.
- XVII Comment of Miss Jones (English) February, 1935
My tenth-grade class was ready to have attendance taken a minute before the buzzer sounded. In dashed Paul, his arms full of books, his mouth open. He jerked his head to see the clock. The girl sitting at his desk gathered up her belongings, holding them in her arms while Paul deposited his load and rummaged madly for his material for next class. He found a pair of gloves not his own on his desk. "What the deuce!" said he loudly. "Somebody has a nerve." At the teacher's suggestion he left the gloves on the desk. Then he gathered up his books, flung back his head to get rid of the lock of hair

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that dropped over one eye, and dashed out of the room as the buzzer sounded.

When he came in at the close of school, I asked why he had been late in getting his books. "Was I late?" said Paul blankly, his mouth open. "Yes, don't you remember? What class were you in before 3:25?" "Oh, yes, I remember—mathematics." "Had you stopped to talk with the teacher?" "No, with a boy. He's rather slow." There is a quality of sweetness in Paul, but there is no consideration for his fellow-students in general (except perhaps for Barbara, for whom he feels a romantic tenderness at present).

- XVIII Comment of Mrs. Foster (Latin) March, 1935
Upon my recommendation, a special class has been arranged for Paul and Barbara who were so far in advance of the regular Latin classes that they were allowed to go ahead at their own pace. They have done two years of Latin with me this winter. This class, while technically an addition to my regular load, has in reality been the means of making that load seem lighter; so stimulating and rewarding has it been. The other day Paul came into the room and I asked him how many pages of Latin he had read for that day. He replied, "Three pages, but don't tell Barbara because I'm sure she didn't get that much done."
- XIX Comment of Miss Jones (English) March, 1935
We were discussing the appearance and characteristics of Dunstan and Godfrey Cass in *Silas Marner*. Paul said, "But I never see a person or a place when I'm reading. I just see the words." Later on a boy referred to Dunstan as tall. "That's not right," said Paul. "It says on page twenty-nine 'a thickset, heavy-looking young man.'"
- XX Excerpts from staff meeting April, 1935
Charming and mature sense of humor . . . real modesty . . . the most remarkable pupil I have ever met (Latin). A little troublesome at times, but he can be controlled (biology). Paul is brilliant, the most brilliant person in the ninth grade. He is rarely satisfied with the depths to which his group investigates a subject; he always wants to go much deeper and is perfectly capable of doing so. He will, I think, one day be a great credit to the school (mathematics). For a boy absorbed in his academic work, Paul is surprisingly outgoing in his attitude toward his fellow-students. He is very

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well liked, but hasn't strong individual friendships (English).

- XXI Comment of Miss Jones (English) May, 1935
Paul usually sits in the back of the class. He very often rushes into class just as the buzzer stops droning. He makes much commotion until he is finally seated, midst a scraping of chairs and shuffling of feet. At the beginning of the year Paul used to answer his recitations in a voice whose tone would have carried to the deepest recesses of the large school auditorium. Paul has, during the year, made a conscious effort to control his voice, although he still speaks with a high pitch. Paul is the most alert and the most advanced student in his class. He usually pays close attention except now and then when he is amused by the antics of Fred Kelly. He sits quietly but for a spasmodic thrumming of his fingers on the desk, or pivoting back and forth on the legs of his chair. There is nothing arrogant about Paul. He might often be amused by some of the class recitations, but he chuckles to himself, and he is always the first to be of assistance when it is needed. Paul does not seem to be interested in the girls any more than he is interested in the boys. His good nature and friendliness and alertness make him liked by all the class.

Paul always dresses the same way. He has worn the same green angora sweater since the opening day of school, the same brown trousers girded tightly around his waist, the same battered brown oxfords. Nevertheless he is neat, and his shirts are always spotlessly clean under the eternal green sweater. There have been one or two times when Paul was thinking about something other than the lesson. During one of these "floating moments" he was suddenly called upon to recite. He was obviously startled, and he looked quizzically at the teacher. Then he grinned and took a chance at an answer. It was irrelevant; the teacher admonished Paul, who had a "please excuse me, I'm sorry" expression on his face. The class was dramatizing a scene from *Jean Valjean*. Paul was selected to play the part of Valjean. The others who were playing with him were without poise, ill at ease. Anne tittered and was blushing self-consciously. Ruth was playing only for the boys in the class. But Paul took his rôle ever so seriously. He read his lines with as much expression and assurance as he could muster. Not once did he smile or banter with the others.

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XXII Academic schedule and semester grades (1934-35)

	First Semester	Second Semester
English Literature	B	A
English Composition	B	B
Mathematics	A	A
General Science	B	A
Latin	A	A
French	A	A
Shop	B	B

Explanation of Grades:

- A high distinction
- B skillful work
- C adequate work
- D conditioned
- E failure

XXIII Intelligence test score data

Otis Self-Administering Test:

Chronological age, October 1934: 14-5

Total score: 64

Class percentile: 90

Independent schools: 9th-grade percentile: 94

Army Alpha Test:

Chronological age, April, 1935: 14-11

Total score: 172

Percentile rank in class: 95

Percentile rank, unselected 9th-grade public-school children: 99

1935-36, Grade X. Age 15-4¹⁸

XXIV Excerpts from staff conference attended by four physical training teachers

December, 1935

He's a great boy when he has something to do. . . . He is a great talker. . . . There was a time in the seventh and eighth grades when he was a problem. You never knew which way a leg or an arm was going to move. He didn't either. I was expecting to see an arm going across the field and Paul coming after it. . . . You might call him a modernistic boy, all angles. . . . You never knew when he was going to talk. He couldn't control himself. . . . He is still unsteady as far as temperament . . . his movements are jerky. . . . He organized the ping-pong tournament and has the whole school ping-pong conscious. . . . He is very popular in boxing

¹⁸ There was no change of school when Paul entered the tenth grade.

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class. He has an attitude of "give and take." He wants to learn. . . . I have watched him in Council Meetings. He has been a member of the Council since the eighth grade. The boy says some awfully stupid things. He is usually opposed. I would say he is probably always in the minority. I think it's because he shoots off too soon, he doesn't wait and doesn't think it through. Then he feels he has to back it up.

- XXV Remark of mother on health questionnaire January, 1936
The student is overactive mentally and physically. Is there any way in which he could learn to unload his brain?
- XXVI Comment of Mrs. Foster (Latin) February, 1936
Barbara, who has a special Latin class with Paul, said today in a casual conversation to me that she admires Paul. She continued: "He has a really incredible mind, but to tell you the truth, I don't care for him socially." She explained that the dancing class gave a party and "while everyone was buzzing around enjoying themselves" Paul was talking about the comparative merits of Latin and Greek.
- XXVII Letter of Paul to principal March, 1936
Dear Mr. Benner:
---School indeed offers many adventurous pursuits, both academic, avocational, and even political. What could be more adventurous than to study the curious analogies and contrasts of different languages or to study the trends and twistings of history, which is famed for its adventurous happenings? What could be more adventurous to the photograph lover than to see a beautiful print gradually appear in the developing solution? What, indeed, could be more adventurous than to attend meetings of the Student Council whose discussions and disputes are so petty and yet so enwrapping?
But the---School boy, like all boys of today, does not have his due share of physical adventure which we hear boys used to hold so dear. This, I believe, is a real loss.
You have heard of the tunnels that are under each building of the school. All of them are connected and in some places they are six feet high, in some places they are so low that one must crawl on his hands and knees to get past. There are infinite side passages that remind one of a labyrinth. What a thrill it is, armed only with a candle and a box of matches, to "explore" these numerous alleys! What fun it is to, at the end of a tunnel, peek out through a ventilator and to discover what corner of the school you are under! What

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a joke to turn an abrupt corner and to extinguish one's candle so that his comrade believes he is lost! Here at last is real physical adventure for the thirsty --- School boy!

These tunnels were discovered and explored by some members of the eighth grade. When they were met by the janitors, they were sent to the office and severely reprimanded. As I see it, no harm could be done, and nothing is there to be taken. As I sincerely believe that this adventure is a very valuable outlet for some boys, I am interested to learn the reason why these boys were reprimanded.

Sincerely yours,
(signed) Paul (grade 10)

XXVIII Comment of Mr. Hays (physics) March, 1936
Paul is one of the three outstanding students in the physics class. He is brilliant but still not as well adjusted socially as some of the other students. He shows a tendency to ask abstract and sometimes seemingly unrelated questions. Occasionally he seems to be asking questions just for the fun of composing them and then it is somewhat exasperating. He talks a good deal with David who has the same interest in abstract and theoretical problems. They try to figure out new explanations or new ways of doing things.

XXIX Comment of Mr. Tucker (English) May, 1936
Paul's thoughts are often complex abstractions, and though he isn't very mature or expressive socially as compared with his unusual mental powers, he really bears his fellow-pupils much good will and is actually deeply interested in some of their problems. In English his analytical abilities are continually crowding out sensitivity and feeling, but he has those too.

When the class exchanged their English papers for correction, Paul did a very professional job. He corrected Jimmy's paper and wrote at the end: "Good explanation, but the original thought doesn't cover the whole paper. Paper has many details rather than explanations." The criticism is justified. Paul indicated every mistake in word usage, spelling, or punctuation.

XXX Excerpt from report of school physician May, 1936
. . . When Paul was about twelve or thirteen years old he became so overactive and restless that he was taken to a physician who diagnosed the case as a mild chorea. He also had a concomitant cardiac murmur, which is occasionally another manifestation of the chorea syndrome. This disap-

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peared later but his hyperactivity remained for some time and is still in evidence at times of stress and fatigue. His appetite is good but irregular at times. He has no food fads but his likes and dislikes vary from time to time. His rest is disturbed considerably by mental overactivity. Sometimes he lies awake for hours, unable to sleep because he is thinking about so many different things. Sometimes he thinks about school work, sometimes about what he will do with his life, and sometimes about social problems.

Paul's development has proceeded without noticeable delay. In the past four years he has gained 48 pounds in body weight and eight inches in height. He has good muscular development. In athletics he has been fairly active, especially during the last year, and has done very well. The physical education department has noted, however, that for a time, two or three years ago, he was lacking in muscular coordination. He had to give up physical activities on several occasions and never attended regularly in physical education. He was requested to rest frequently. Only this year has he participated in sports without interruption. This muscular incoordination has almost disappeared. . . . His sex characteristics and habitus are definitely masculine. . . . He has markedly bowed legs. . . .

In age he ranks 14th from the oldest among the 29 boys, and 27th in the entire group of 79 students. Physical fitness index (Schneider Index): ¹⁴ 13 (class average 8.1). According to the Schneider Index he ranks 26th among the 29 boys in the class.

	<i>Sept. 1932</i>	<i>Sept. 1933</i>
Weight	101.5	115
Height	59.7	62.5
Feet: R	flat	flat
L	O.K.	O.K.
Hearing	normal	normal
	<i>Sept. 1934</i>	<i>Sept. 1935</i>
Weight	133	150
Height	66	68
Feet: R	flat	flat
L	O.K.	O.K.
Hearing	normal	normal

¹⁴ The Schneider Index test eliminates the strength factor and strives to measure the physiological capacity of the individual in meeting the demands which are made upon that particular organism under ordinary circumstances.

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XXXI Academic schedule and semester grades (1935-36)

	First Semester	Second Semester
English Literature	B	A
English Composition	B	B
History	B	A
Physics	A	A
Mechanical Arts	A	A
Latin	A	A

Explanation of Grades:

- A high distinction
- B skillful work
- C adequate work
- D conditioned
- E failure

INTERPRETATION OF OBSERVATIONAL MATERIAL

It is obvious from the records that Paul is academically a very satisfactory student. He is outstanding in some fields, whereas he falls slightly short in others. This, however, does not at all affect his scholastic success but rather throws some light on his interests and abilities. In general science (II, V), mathematics (XVI), and physics (XXVIII) Paul is considered to be unusually talented. In Latin he progresses at such a rate that his teacher takes him out of the regular class to teach him separately. He masters two years of Latin in one winter (XVIII). In English, especially in English composition, he is rated comparatively lower (V, XXII, XXXI); similarly in art (V).

Paul's superior mental ability, which is repeatedly documented by objective tests (XXIII) and by teachers' comments (VIII, IX, XVI, XX, XXVIII), finds its most successful outlet in abstract theoretical or analytical areas. In physics "he shows a tendency to ask abstract . . . questions" (XXVIII) and his English teacher feels that his "analytical abilities are continually crowding out sensitivity and feeling" (XXIX). The same teacher remarks that Paul has sensitivity and feeling too; but he does not permit his emotional responsiveness the free play which is especially important in fields like English and art.

In this connection, it is important to note Paul's attitude toward words, which is unusual enough to be considered closely. The

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English teacher reports him as having a "keen delight in words" (XV) and the Latin teacher finds that he "learns declensions and conjugations with the greatest ease" (XV). In printing he is "accurate, with a sympathy toward English grammar" (VI). This attitude of Paul's toward words is well illustrated by an incident which occurs when the English class is reading *Silas Marner*. Paul says in the course of a discussion about the appearance and characteristics of Dunstan and Godfrey Cass: "But I never see a person or a place when I'm reading. I just see the words." The manner in which Paul corrects a description of Dunstan, by referring to the actual descriptive vocabulary used in the book, throws further light on his peculiar relationship to and memory for words (XIX). He remembers words easily, but as isolated carriers of meaning, taken out of context, as signs and symbols which do not fuse into images. This attitude must be very similar to his retention of mathematical symbols and his interest in abstract processes. He likes to work with words (conjugation, declension) as well as he likes to work with abstract quantities in mathematics. It is not possible to conclude from the foregoing material just what rôle this mental attitude plays in Paul's personality. But the fact that he tends to the abstract and to the verbal attracts attention; it seems to be indicative of the special way in which Paul disposes of his emotionality. This, however, can be determined only in the light of additional material. Tentatively, it can be said that Paul's interests are focused on material representing formal operations (words) and quantitative processes (mathematics); whereas his responses to material representing emotional (literature) or sensual qualities (art) are less articulate.¹⁵

These tentative conclusions are further substantiated by Paul's social behavior. The records show that his social adjustment has not always been satisfactory; in fact, it assumes great importance in the records through contrast with his excellent scholastic progress. His behavior baffles his teachers, because they are convinced of his well-meaning and basically friendly nature. This seeming contradiction in Paul's personality is recorded repeatedly.

¹⁵ Unfortunately the school records do not throw any light on the rôle which music plays among Paul's interests and activities.

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Paul's social development reveals several important changes, and an attempt will be made to indicate some of its major phases. During the seventh and early eighth grade Paul is favorably described by most of his teachers. According to the French teacher he is "happy and well adjusted" (IX). He shows a tendency to please his teachers. When the complaints about his table manners are brought to his attention, the trouble is immediately remedied (VII). The physical education teacher is surprised "by his rugged playing and ability" (III). This is noteworthy in the light of his physical handicaps (XI). He is "overanxious to present his material" (II) and "claims an undue portion of teacher's attention and class time" (IX). This is interpreted as a lack of consideration for others. The fact that he is an only child (I) and has had difficulty with motor control in his early life may be of importance for an understanding of his undue claims on adults.

In spite of his being contentious (VI) and quick-tempered (VIII) with his classmates, Paul is always reasonable and "sincerely contrite when cool." But his relationship to his classmates is not of a settled nature. "He has a good many friends and is respected by the other children" (VIII). Yet his friendliness towards classmates can be disrupted by sudden outbursts. Furthermore he uses his voice with undue loudness, to the annoyance of the class. In addition, he is inclined to play the teacher's rôle in relation to other students. He has a "tendency to explain and give information to others without request" (VI, see also XV).

Generally speaking, Paul's social adjustment up to this point gives the school little cause for concern. He lives up to the school's standards in achievement and conformity. He is somewhat aggressive to his classmates, but without resentment. His rugged playing and his ability indicate that physical competitive exercises offer important outlets for his nervous excitability. His early motor inadequacy (VII) and his present incipient choreic condition (XI, XIV) are probably both important in determining his active participation in sports. (See description of Paul's behavior on playfield: XXIV.)

In February, 1934, Paul's choreic condition becomes worse and he consequently has to refrain from athletics (X). During the period following this restriction, Paul's social problems become

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severely aggravated. The change must have been quite obvious and the situation a fairly serious one, for there are several letters between the principal and the mother concerning Paul's social adjustment (XII, XIII).

Paul continues to be liked by his teachers but grows unpopular with his classmates. This is due to his "caustic remarks" and "his sharp tongue" (XI). He is "self-centered" and is rejected when he applies for a scholarship at camp. It is interesting to note that in spite of Paul's aggressiveness, nobody feels that it is directed toward any particular individual, either teacher or student. There is a general consent that he is "kind and really affectionate," that he has "no unfriendly feelings," that he has "fundamentally a good will." As one teacher puts it: "There is a quality of sweetness in Paul, but there is no consideration for his fellow students in general."

Paul has no friends and he is "baffled by the fact that he is not liked" (XI). His complaints about it at home lead his mother to bring Paul's worries to the attention of the school. The fact that Paul discusses personal problems of this kind with his mother indicates that their relationship is close and that he resorts to her in case of defeat and disappointment. It also shows the mother's deep concern and interest in Paul's social development.

The coincidence of Paul's removal from the playfield and the increase of his social difficulties probably has a functional correlation. On the physician's orders, Paul could not return to the playfield until September, 1935, when he entered the tenth grade. It is interesting to observe the social and intellectual adjustment which follows the physical restriction. The return to the playfield in the tenth grade is not as dramatic as his removal from it, because at the later period he has already worked out some adjustment to the situation, on a compensatory level. Nevertheless, there are indications of a shift in behavior patterns.

Side by side with the comments about the difficulties which arise in Paul's relationship to his classmates, the records indicate a progressively greater absorption in academic work (XX). His progress in Latin has been so rapid that the teacher gladly adds to his regular teaching load by arranging a special class for him (XVIII). In class he usually pays close attention and he is always

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of assistance when needed (XXI). His teachers notice a tendency to ask abstract questions; he "always wants to go much deeper" (XX). But his questions are sometimes exasperating to the teacher and sometimes surprisingly irrelevant for a boy as intelligent as Paul ("Driven along the roads?" XV).

During this period, Paul develops no individual friendships (XV, XX). His relationship to others is based mainly on the discussion of intellectual concepts or on the exchange of knowledge: one teacher says of him that he does not seem as much interested in people as in ideas and books (XV). He talks a great deal with David, a boy who has the same interests in abstract and theoretical problems. They try to figure out new explanations or new ways of doing things (XXVIII). In class, Paul likes to sit in the back row, and after lunch he can be found alone in the room at his desk "humming to himself and working at his Latin or Math" (XV). He is in great demand among the students as a tutor and takes a very professional attitude in teaching them (XV, see also XXIX). All this contributes to Paul's being generally liked by the class (XXI); the fact that he has been elected term after term as a member of the Student Council is indicative enough of the group's respect for and appreciation of him, despite the social inadequacy remarked by his teachers (XXVI, XXVIII).

Paul's relationship to girls is very indifferent. He "does not seem to be interested in the girls any more than he is interested in the boys" (XXI). The small incident in the Latin class, however, reveals an affectionate feeling for Barbara. The indirect way in which he expresses his affection is in keeping with his impersonal and awkward manner in dealing with personal problems (XVII, XVIII). Paul shares the special Latin class with Barbara; he establishes a relationship to her on the basis of their linguistic interests, but Barbara, although she admires his mind, rejects him socially (XXVI). At a dance, when everybody else is enjoying himself, Paul talks to her about the "comparative merits of Latin and Greek." Such discussion allows Paul to approach the girl on an intellectual level and simultaneously gives him a chance to exhibit his adequacy and maturity on that same level. By remaining on an intellectual plane, he avoids a situation of emotional involvement. This reaction to the first affectionate feelings aroused in

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relation to the other sex is a common phase of adolescent heterosexual adjustment.

At times Paul still says or does things which make him the center of attention, a tendency reported as early as the seventh grade (III). He can say stupid things which he feels he has to back up, consequently putting himself into the opposition and minority (XXIV). In the classroom he is inclined to be boisterous, making much commotion until he is seated (XXI). He has a tendency to rush into class when the buzzer stops droning (XXI). The noisiness, which is partly related to his nervous condition and his non-participation in gymnastics, expresses itself too in the way he uses his voice; he recites in an unduly loud tone (XXI).

In the foregoing composite picture of Paul's behavior, and the reaction of his school environment to it, several points of interest need further clarification. His aggressiveness, which finds an outlet in various forms, stands in contrast to his general friendliness, helpfulness, and conformity. This opposition of trends pervades Paul's behavior throughout; it can be found in his being liked basically by the group, but having no personal friends; in his meaning well, but lacking consideration; in his having high intelligence, but asking unrelated and awkward questions; in disturbing others by his boisterousness and loud talking, but being willing and intending to coöperate and to conform. The records do not explain these contradictory trends satisfactorily when they note that Paul is "bored by the simple work of his grade" (XVI), that the stupidity of his classmates bothers him (XI), or that he wants to satisfy his "exceptional academic capacity and desire to learn" (IX). In finding excuses for his partially unsatisfactory behavior, teachers seem influenced to a surprising extent by Paul's academic capacity. As is usually the case, when teachers disagree in their comments and evaluation of attitudes and behavior as widely as they do concerning Paul in the ninth grade, it may be concluded that the student in question presents a personality problem at the moment. The impression that Paul is not well adjusted socially (XXVIII) or that he is socially not very mature and expressive, a situation which continues through the tenth grade, confirms what has already been pointed out.

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Paul withdraws from personal attachments to boys, girls, or adults in much the same way that he detaches emotional responsiveness from subject-matter fields. He does not share the amusements of his classmates (XXVI) but meets them whether affectionately or aggressively on an intellectual and verbal level: "He is a great talker" (XXIV). The aggressive component which becomes so much more pronounced after he is compelled to give up gymnastics is manifested in various forms of his behavior. As with his general friendliness, his aggressiveness is not directed toward individuals, but is for the most part expressed diffusely in indirect acts and on the verbal level. He has a sharp tongue, makes cutting remarks, uses a loud voice, generally takes the opposition in arguments. The letter which Paul wrote to the principal is significant in this respect. There he emerges as the defender of eighth-grade boys who are restricted in their "due share of physical adventure" (XXVII). The contrast in the letter between the intellectual advantages which the school offers and the physical frustrations which it imposes, when considered in the light of the previous interview material, further illustrates Paul's indirect way of expressing personal concerns. The rebellion against authoritative interference and physical restriction, expressed in the letter in the name of justice for other boys, reveals an unexpected amount of resentment and defiance. The question arises as to whether the general opposition he incurs at Council Meetings does not contain emotional elements of a similar nature. Those instances, therefore, in which Paul puts himself into the minority, or, by saying "awfully stupid things" exposes himself to attacks and criticisms, may be self-imposed punishments, provoked by a feeling of guilt at his aggressiveness. It is significant that a boy as intelligent as Paul says stupid things in public. The interpretation which is given above finds further support in the material which has been presented in the foregoing section.

When Paul enters the tenth grade his choreic condition has improved and he is allowed to return to gymnastics. He is overactive mentally and physically (XXV, XXX); he is "unsteady as far as temperament . . . his movements are jerky . . ." (XXIV), but he takes a real interest in sports. He organizes a ping-pong tournament and makes the whole school ping-pong conscious; he is very

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popular in boxing class. Absence of teachers' remarks concerning his contradictory behavior is probably an indication of a decrease in his manifest social difficulties. His physical development has progressed satisfactorily and upon physical examination it is reported that his "muscular incoördination has almost disappeared. . . ." According to the Schneider Index he ranks almost at the top of the class (XXX).

The foregoing interpretation of observational data should be briefly considered in the light of understandings derived from the interviews; the two kinds of material supplement each other. They reveal that the central theme in Paul's adolescent development is apparently manifested in his contradictory behavior. This behavior may be interpreted as induced by Paul's ambivalent attitude toward his maturation: partly he feels unable to accept his maturation, because of the dangers of mature life; partly he rebels against interference and authority, in order to defend his growth. The rejecting tendency is represented by his repressed emotionality, lack of personal contacts with boys, girls, teachers, emphasis and nature of interests; the accepting tendency by his disguised aggressiveness, especially on a verbal and intellectual level.

4. Self-Expressive Material (1934-36) with Interpretation

SELF-EXPRESSIVE MATERIAL (XXXII-L)¹⁸

XXXII English paper (Excerpt) (A) May, 1934
How I Have Changed Since the Beginning of — School
Well, I think that I'm not *quite* as noisy and boisterous as I used to be: I'm not as conspicuous nor do I make a fool of myself as often. In views, I am not quite as liberal as I was. But of course this does not apply to all of us. I think at this stage of the game, we have already gotten out of the wondering state. When we first got here, we (and I suppose all seventh graders do) were just struck with the difference of it from our former school. It was just lovely and we were drunk with glee. We had schedules we could stick in our pockets and look at and the most delicious part of it was, periods ended on the dot like 10:42, 3:17, etc., etc. Now it's all part of the day's work.
I think it is just as well that it is more humdrum now. We think of more serious and important things and are thoughtful generally. Then of course we are physically more developed. All in all, I'm glad not to be as wonder-struck as last year and next year I'm plunging into high school proper with a serious zestfulness. Onward, — School.

XXXIII English paper (F) April, 1935
Operas? Pooh!!
I am very interested in music generally. It is a hobby of mine. Orchestras, chamber music, and soloists attract me, but I would not go out of my way to see an opera. First of all, the little plot there is, is always absurd, everybody often dying in the end. Then, as most operas are in a foreign language, one must read a libretto afterward to get the

¹⁸ A in parenthesis after title of composition indicates that the writing was assigned; F indicates free writing and a self-chosen topic. Wherever parts of a theme are omitted a footnote will indicate this. As will be seen from the accompanying dates, all the papers except four were written while Paul was attending grade ten; they coincide in time with the interview material.

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meaning and thus cannot appreciate the dialogue or the words of arias. Thus people do not go for the story of operas.

The sets, indeed, are beautiful, but for beautiful sets, I'd sooner see a real play where I can at the same time hear a story with dialogue.

Now with all this aforementioned nonsense going on, one really cannot fully appreciate the music that the orchestra (which you cannot see) is playing. Many people say that the best part of the opera is its overture, in which the orchestra plays alone.

Thus I say, if you are a lover of dialogue and plot, see a legitimate play; if a lover of sets and scenes, go to an art gallery or a play; and if you are a true lover of music, hear a plain, musical concert.

XXXIV Diary (A)

April 29—May 5, 1935

Monday, 4/29. Got up and noticed Roosevelt's speech in the papers. If more people would listen to him and less to men like Huey Long, we might get somewhere. Came to school, and started a usual day. Went to Mr. — to get help for my report to the Peace Council. We are going to hand in these reports and then mimeograph them and distribute them. Went home and practised music as usual. Tuesday, 4/30. When I got up in the morning, I had a nauseous feeling, but I went to school anyway. I felt nauseous all morning, but felt better at lunch. Making this diary as I do does not really get my thoughts. It does not seem to be a very efficient way of finding what boys think. I got home from school early and practised music and did homework.

Wednesday, 5/1. Did more work on peace report during study period. I forgot all about the fact that it was May Day till I noticed the account of the Communist Parade in the papers. Came home late. Went to club in the evening. Thursday, 5/2. Got up with a sore throat, but went to school anyway. Played in school "league" game in the morning. I discovered that I left my lunch at home, so I had to get some from other boys.¹⁷ I am recording most of the things I did, but I can't think of everything that I was thinking. We had a math test in the afternoon. At 4:30 I went to the training squad and rubbed a few men down. Because of this, I got home late. Practised music, and went to bed.

¹⁷ Paul is one of the very few students who bring their lunch to school.

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Friday, 5/3. Got up and sore throat was still there, but I gargled with aspirin and felt all right.

XXXV Hour by hour diary (A)

Saturday, May 4, 1935

<i>Time</i>	<i>What I did</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
8:00—8:30	Got dressed and ate breakfast.	My throat was pretty sore, but I had to go downtown.
8:45—10:00	Went down to the — School to work on our peace pamphlet. We began to typewrite our reports into final form.	It seems that the Peace Council is made up mostly of girls! This is too bad.
10:00—10:30	Had to rush away from Peace Council to go to the string quartet at music school of which I'm the violinist. Though I'm supposed to get there at 10 sharp and finish at 11, I did not get there till 10:30.	Took the Pine St. bus to 1st Ave. and thence upon the 1st Ave. bus. These buses have turnstiles in them. Changing at 1st Ave. and Maple St. I noticed that part of 1st Ave. was broken up. I asked a gas station attendant if the 1st Ave. buses were running eastbound. He said he had not thought what happened to them during the breakage of the street, but he imagined they were running on 2nd Ave. one block north. Just as I was

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<i>Time</i>	<i>What I did</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
10:00-10:30		going to run over to 2nd Ave. I saw a bus coming east-bound. The observance of some people is not very highly developed!
10:30-11:00	Played in the quartet. We are playing some lovely quartets by Haydn and Bach.	I struck some sour notes.
11:00-11:30	Rushed back to Peace Council.	
11:30-12:30	Finished my work with the Peace Council. Tried to get Mother twice on the phone but she was not home.	Throat worse.
12:45-2:00	Came home, found Mother there, and ate lunch. Gargled and lay down awhile.	Mother asked me if I had a headache, but my throat was all that hurt.
2:00-2:30	Rode over to Bob's house. He is a former friend of mine whom I have not seen in a long time.	
2:30-6:00	Inspired by O. Henry's story, "Twenty Years After," we decided	You can imagine the discussion between me, the sworn pacifist and

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<i>Time</i>	<i>What I did</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
2:30-6:00	to meet at a future date . . . that is, when we grow up. You see, though he is a very interesting fellow, neither of us has much time to communicate with or to see the other. Thus in a letter I suggested this plan. He liked the idea, so we decided finally today. We are going to meet Tuesday evening April 4, 1944, at 7 o'clock. We chose this date as it is easy to remember. Its abbreviation is 4/4/44. We were going to meet at 4:44 P. M. too, but that is a little early in the evening. Walked him to the Public Library and back to his home. Got into a discussion about war.	him, who seems to think the fittest survive in war! He is willing to die for the retention of Hawaii, etc. Who knows maybe he'll be dead somewhere in Japan in '44 and I will be in prison!
6:00-6:30	Rode home.	
6:30-7:30	Did homework.	
9:00-awfully late	Went over to the Stern's with Mother and Dad. Had a very boring night. Got home too late to record in this diary.	

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XVI English paper (F)

September, 1935

The Mysterious Hair Tonic

The other day as I was strolling through a side street in a poor section of the city, I marked with much curiosity a rather active old man wheeling a baby carriage in the middle of the street. On the baby carriage was a large cube of ice. Lined up on two sides of the ice were about a dozen bottles of the hair tonic shape which contained liquids of varying hues. Some of the colors were such pastel shades as sickly green, oily yellow, and pale pink. Hair tonic was my mental exploration of this because of the shape of the bottles and the color of their contents . . . but the ice? My puzzled mind was soon relieved when I heard a scraggly little youngster ask for "a penny's worth." The old man flaked off some ice with a special scraper and shoved it into a paper cup. He then proceeded to pour a few drops of liquid from each bottle over this ice. Then I realized that the liquid was flavoring with which he made the cool ice slightly palatable . . . a rather doubtful substitute for fruit ice!

XVII English paper (F)

October, 1935

The Scourge

Deaths in time of war happen wholesale. Because the numbers mount to millions, people forget what each one means, what a gap each one makes.

For instance, let us take a hypothetical case of a boy in this school called Jack. He is getting a well balanced education here and is going to study to be a doctor. He is especially brilliant and is talented in music. He is well liked by all his colleagues and has two or three very intimate friends to whom he is especially dear. He has two older sisters that are very proud of him, though sometimes a little annoyed. Here is a boy that probably could be a success in life.

Then, let us say, America joins in a world war to make the world safe for something or other. This person of whom we are writing is sent off and is killed. All his education will have been just to give a few teachers a little extra aggravation. All his talents will be wasted. Then, notice the gap in the lives of his survivors. His stricken mother and father will have only a proud and fond memory of him. His best pals will see him no more. The services that he could have performed for mankind as a doctor will remain unperformed. A sad misfortune indeed.

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But when we remember that there are hundreds of thousands like him, we see that war is a scourge too and a destroyer of mankind.

XXXVIII Book review (A)

October, 1935

Flowers

After having presented a rather daring essay, Mr. Hudson finishes off rather weakly by conceding that the association with the sky gives some of the charm to a blue flower as well as the association with the human eye. . . .

Mr. Hudson's views seem to have a tone of conceit in them. For instance, on page 17 he states that someone might contradict him by saying that a yellow flower is very charming. He argues this away by saying that *that* person probably has some childhood memory of that flower, insinuating that he would be exceptional and that people agreeing with his (Hudson's) preference of red and blue would be correct. As a matter of fact, his reasoning could be turned around to say that the coloring on humans seems beautiful because of its associations with flowers.

(unfinished)

XXXIX English paper (F)

October, 1935

Moonlight Paddling

I find, upon looking over the events of last summer, that somehow none stand out as vitally unusual. That is, all but one, and that I could hardly call an incident for it was rather an impression.

I went paddling one night about dusk and paddled far away from the sight of other people. My companion and I remained silent in that cool, fragrant air, watching the rays fade into twilight, the lake was motionless, the sky cloudless. The approaching night came upon us and before a short time had elapsed we were emerged in a cloud of darkness with the stars overhead and a silvery moon lighting our way.

Out of this deep silence came "Taps," the night call so soft and melodious. I have never felt before such a thrill as at that moment when I was held by the beautiful scene which lay before me and amid twinkling lights and rippling water we slowly paddled home.

XL English paper (choice of any political topic)

October, 1935

Recovery

I can remember a Saturday morning in March two years ago when the country was gripped with panic and on the

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verge of chaos. The number of unemployed was far greater than it had ever been. The banks were closed. More and more businesses failed. A new president was inaugurated that day, one Franklin D. Roosevelt. His country received with hope his strong speech. After a few weeks, he was the savior of banker and workman alike.

Yet now, two and a half years later, when we are well on our way to recovery, he is attacked by radicals and reactionaries alike. Let us review some of the measures by which he has rescued the nation.

First, he set up the N.R.A. which cut out unfair business practices. This had some minimum wage and maximum hour provisions in it, which helped labor.

He declared a banking holiday and then tried to take over control of the banks, where he was partially successful.

He set up enormous public works which relieved the unemployment situation.

He actually took measures to help each class of
(unfinished)

XLI English paper (F)

November, 1935

The Stream of Life

As life goes on, as life goes on
We sense a dull monotony;
We sense a dull monotony
As life, as life goes on.

By day, by day we go to school
To join our classmates and to learn
What makes the universe go round—
By day we go to school.

We get up each and ev'ry morn,
We gulp a meal, put on our clothes,
To travel on a noisy train
We get up every morn.

The clash and clatter of the cars
Impinge upon our tired ears;
The clatter of the cars creates
A dull monotony.

In school, in school, the same each day,
We study Latin, History,
And English, Math and Physics Lab
In school, in school each day.

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Math, History, and Physics Lab,
(The next day they're reversed),
Then Latin, English, and we're through
With school, with school that day.

Then through the town we wind our way,
And homeward bound we board the train
The clutter of whose cars creates
A dull monotony.

At home, at home we study long
As we have homework, much and hard:
To lessen our monotony,
At home we study long.

And then at last when work is done
We drop our books and go to bed;
We sleep most soundly till the morn
At last when work is done.

As life goes on, as life goes on
We sense a dull monotony;
We sense a dull monotony
As life, as life goes on.

XLII Book review (A)

November, 1935

Home Novels

On the whole, I enjoy novels that describe home life, yet I cannot specifically describe why. However I shall list several ideas about this.

First, it might be because this type is more likely to produce characters with whom we sympathize than any other. We can understand the difficulties and heartaches of Godfrey Cass (from *Silas Marner*) and Alice Adams (from *Alice Adams*) so much better than those of characters in adventure stories such as Jim Hawkins (from *Treasure Island*) for the reason that their situations are more familiar to us.

Another reason, closely linked with the first, might be because, as so far my life has been almost wholly a family one, I understand the plot workings rather easily even though they often are extraordinary.

A third possibility might be this: that adventure novels in the strict sense of the word are a bit out of date, that is, they are often stories about other times, such as the 18th century, but family life is always fresh and intimate even today.

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XLIII English paper (F)

December, 1935

It is a young man who has had an exceptional, yet perhaps in a way typical life so far. A brilliant boy out of high school, he worked with an insurance firm for two years to accumulate money for college. At college he distinguished himself in literature and became Phi Beta Kappa. Then he went to Princeton on a fellowship to work for an M.A. The first summer vacation after his first year there, he toured France very inexpensively with a comrade L. They hiked most of the way and probably got a remarkable perspective of French life. L, an American, had specialized in French literature at college, and was going to stay on through the winter at a Parisian university. In the fall B returned to continue working for his M.A. He became very discouraged here and began to hate the studying. He began to fear that when he finished three years working for an M.A., he would not be able to make good. His family, visiting him during Thanksgiving, found him very bitter.

Then came a letter from L, stating that he had found a job in a library for B. After several give and take correspondences, B decided to throw up all his studying and to go over and take the job, which would at least give him experience. He became a librarian in Paris. He also held another part time job there, and had accumulated some money by June. Then seeing that he could not remain in a rut in France for the rest of his days, he came back to New York. Imagine a Phi Beta Kappa, B.A., and a semi M.A., with foreign travels thrown upon the New York market for a job in July, '35! He preferred not to teach, as he believed that he would fall into a rut. L had just gotten a teaching position for \$1500 in some obscure Southern college. Incidentally, he was a Ph.D. B wanted to write . . . for books, for trash magazines, for anything. To make a long story short, after two discouraging months of daily commutation he agreed to accept a teaching position which he found in an "ad" in the paper. This position is in an obscure country school for high school boys to "make up." In a way, B is glad that he has this job, as he is getting much experience. But he sees that he is going to fall into a rut. There is absolutely no social life for him. There are only two teachers in the whole school. He is in search of another job, but this is difficult now. What should he do, continue with his meagre salary, or go out into the world in search for better?

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- XLIV English paper (Excerpt) (A) January, 1936
(This paper was given as an assignment after reading "The Students Look at War." The main question to be answered was: Do you think students of your age should concern themselves with the question of war? The paper, comprising six handwritten pages, is not given in its entirety.)

War

Yes, I certainly do think that boys and girls of our age should concern themselves with war and the ways to hasten or prevent it. It is we the younger generation who are going to be sacrificed in the next war, the older generation will suffer and have troubles, the race of the future will be seriously jeopardized, but it is we, we who were born from 1910 to 1925, who shall give our life's blood. Need there exist a better reason for studying this scourge? This book tries to bring out that students can do something to prevent war. I am sure that nine out of ten of the members of our class will answer "no" to this question, but I disagree. Most people feel that everything we can do is so futile that we might well use our efforts elsewhere. However, when enough people get behind a certain sentiment, it cannot be ignored. As I have no definite program in mind, I cannot give an example.

There are two very effective methods of advancing peace ideas. These are mass demonstrations and pressure on Congress for legislation such as Neutrality laws, etc. . . .¹⁸ Another invaluable assistance is education to work up general sentiment. Assignments such as these are of infinite value in making people *think* about these issues.

I do not think that war is justifiable in modern civilization. A long time ago, the struggle ended in the survival of the fittest, but now with modern highly developed instruments of death, this does not follow. Who can say that France is a more fit race than Germany in the face of her victory in the last war? Besides, another war may mean the destruction of all mankind.

If there were a war in five years, I should do all in my power to block it with others that hold my opinion and I think it would be noble and more for the benefit of mankind if I were killed because I did not go than if I went. Of course it is very easy to say that now, but I hear that such acts are rare cases when war does come . . . anyway you'll read about me then. I think the book's grouping is rather poor. . . .¹⁸

¹⁸ Part of the theme has been omitted here.

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XLV Book review (Excerpt) (A) February, 1936

Green Light

Green Light is an excellently written novel by Lloyd C. Douglas.

The story opens picturing a young surgeon. . . .¹⁹

However, the character that seems to dominate the book is Dean Harcourt, the crippled minister of a mid-western church. Though he is important in the plot also, his prime importance lies in the fact that he voices the philosophy Douglas is trying to bring out. He expounds the belief that the human race is ever moving forward in a "Long Parade." We are all part of the same relentless struggle upward and forward. Many people come to him with their troubles and somehow he imparts to them a sense that they are only a part of the crowd and that their problems are small and insignificant compared to those of mankind. The author's application of his Dean's philosophy to the characters of the story indeed betrays his magnificent literary genius. If for no other reason, the book should be read for the benefit of this great philosophy and its working out.

XLVI English paper (character study) March, 1936

Mrs. Bancroft

Mrs. Bancroft is the most annoying, and it is only fair to say, charming person that I know. So that I may more fully describe her annoying characteristics her charm must here go unnoticed.

She is the mother of one of my closest friends, so I have known her for a long time. Her objectionable qualities may be summed up under a few heads: she is overbearing, loquacious, over-hospitable, and she has a poor sense of humor.

Roger, one of her son Albert's friends, calls Albert up during the week. Mrs. Bancroft, who answers the phone, shouts, "Hello, Roger, how are you? You must come over here Saturday for the day."

But Roger answers, "Oh, no, I was just going to invite Al over to my house Saturday."

She persists, "No, Roger, you just *must* come over here. Albert has a new game of Monopoly."

If Roger points out that he has been there twice in a row already, she feigns anger because he counts visits and then begins to coax. After much long argument, Roger

¹⁹ Part of the theme has been omitted here.

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finally gives in and goes. Of course Albert has nothing to do with all this. Mrs. Bancroft does all the planning. As soon as the controversy is settled, Al and Roger may have a few words together on the phone.

Roger arrives Saturday eager for a companionable day with his chum. At lunch, Mrs. Bancroft dominates the conversation. As soon as Al tries to talk with Roger on some topic she is unversed in, she brings the conversation back to her petty talk about this or that. She is tensely on guard lest Al and Roger should leave her out. It is not clear whether she is afraid that Al could not support the conversation himself or whether she just unconsciously does this. It is probably the latter, for she holds the center of conversation with her high-pitched voice among adults in the very same way.

"How do you like the pie, Roger?"

"Who made it, you or the maid?"

"Why do you ask?"

"Well, because I want to know how much to praise it."

"What's that? What do you mean? . . . Oh well . . ."

Finally, when they rise from the table, Al and Roger may have the afternoon to themselves.

When Roger leaves, he wonders if Mrs. Bancroft is not trying to steal his friendship away from Albert. . . .

Though she is very annoying, I do not believe she means to be so. She doesn't let Albert manage his own affairs, because she thinks he is still a child. Her poor humor is in-born. Her mile-a-minute talking and her hospitality are well meant. She is a good instance of a person who is decidedly annoying even though she really tries to be pleasant.

XLVII English paper (F)

March, 1936

My Two Paths

I am being carefully prepared for a vocation in several ways. Here I am going to picture some of my ideals and how I already am working to attain them. Two major vocations seem to lie open to me.

First, I have ambitions of becoming an engineer. I sincerely believe that I have the capabilities of becoming a very successful one, even a great one. However, I am not absolutely sure that I am really interested in this vocation, so I have been testing myself in a number of ways. I am taking a science course in high school, combined with the "Pre-engineering" course which introduced us to some of the fields that engineering covers. I try to read as many

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books as possible on engineering and on science in general. This summer I am going to obtain a job of a technical nature that will both give me an intimate view of the spheres that I may some day be in charge of and furnish some first-hand experience which may be valuable in itself.

On the other hand, if I discover that I am not vitally interested in engineering, or if I am unable to attend engineering school, I shall have the golden opportunity of joining my father's business. I have already accompanied Dad on one business trip and have seen a part of the commercial world in a rather second-hand manner. I hope to get some first-hand experience in the business world the summer after next.

In about a year, I shall have to make my decision between these two vocations. The decision will depend upon my interest in engineering, my affinity for business, financial conditions at the time, and other influences which Lady Fortune may be pleased to toss my way.

I am thankful that I go to — School, a school that brings out one's interests early in life; I am thankful that my parents have already given me a fairly clear picture of what I can expect to encounter and accomplish when I grow up; but what I am especially thankful for is the fact that already in my sophomore year in high school I have worked out a definite though flexible plan for my future.

XLVIII Book review (Excerpt) (A)

April, 1936

Do you like the way *The Rise of Silas Lapham* ends?

I liked the way the book *Silas Lapham* ends because it is in keeping with the chain of events at the end of the story. Howells does not "come to his rescue" and have him find a gold mine or something because that would not have happened in real life. Another factor is the fact that he is not left totally destitute—there is no total collapse. A good illustration of this point is this: I saw the moving picture of *Alice Adams*. I enjoyed it very much, but after I saw it, my cousin told me that in the book it does not end happily as it does in the picture. The happy ending gives one rather a nice feeling, which though unnatural, does not detract from the appreciation of the rest of the story. Thus I do not believe I would have cared for *Alice Adams* if it had ended tragically. The ending is a kind of a "let up. . . ." ²⁰

²⁰ Rest of the theme has been omitted.

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- XLIX English paper (A) May, 1936
What I Think About When Alone
 mathematical problems
 certain girls
 plans for college
 someday soon I'll drive a car and won't have to ride in
 the trolley
 job this summer
 some boys
 the esthetic view of an arm in a cast
 try and see the molecules. Even an electron, the smallest
 known unit, has a certain amount of mass, why can't
 anything have less mass?
 what for mother's day? 1) yes. 2) no. 3) NO.

- L Book review (choice of book was left to student)
 (Excerpt) May, 1936

Man, the Unknown

Man, the Unknown, a recent book by Alexis Carrel, was written with a double purpose. The author has attempted to give a résumé of the present knowledge of man, including the various branches of biology, psychology, and, strange to say, religion, and has sounded the call for a radical revision of our civilization before it degenerates completely like all its predecessors.

He opens by showing that the sciences of inert matter have been developed to a tremendous extent, while the science of man, the most important of all, has been all but neglected. . . .²¹ His unusual inclusion of religion is heartening. Most scientists do not concede the existence of any immaterial thing, but Carrel believes that association with God is one of our primary mental activities. He also does not consider the existence of telepathy impossible. . . .²¹ This book is a challenge to modern man to change his ways of living, but I confess I do not completely comprehend some of his arguments. What especially interested me was his embracement of religion, his explanation of time as a fourth dimension, and some of his detailed descriptions of the workings of the body. It is a masterpiece of organization, and I think many people can learn much from it, providing they make liberal use of the dictionary.

²¹ Part of the theme has been omitted here.

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INTERPRETATION OF SELF-EXPRESSIVE MATERIAL ²²

Following the presentation and discussion of two kinds of material (interview, observation), a third kind (writing) is introduced. This additional material is offered to substantiate or modify the previous interpretation of Paul's behavior and, further, to illustrate the indicative character or the symptomatic nature of writings in general. The self-expressive material, however, is regarded here only as part of a larger body of information; viewed in the light of data obtained through other means of personality study, it will ultimately contribute to a better understanding of Paul. The following interpretation is not explicitly interrelated with the previous material. Although many points suggest a reference to tentative judgments which have already been made or substantiate interpretations given in the preceding discussions, a summary and interrelation of all the material will be reserved for a concluding section.

It may be recalled at this point that Paul has always disliked writing or composition ("I chew it neatly"). In comparison with his achievements in other fields, his accomplishments in English composition are below his standard. He likes words and grammar but he cannot compose or express himself freely. Perhaps his earlier writings (e. g., XXXII and XXXIII) are more spontaneous and therefore more natural and free. All later papers, however, illustrate Paul's frequent artificiality and awkwardness in the use of language. His sentences and themes considered as a whole are strikingly bare of emotionality, except perhaps the papers on "War" or the paper "Moonlight Paddling." To illustrate the artificiality of expression, some of his descriptive papers may be considered. In "The Mysterious Hair Tonic" (XXXVI) he uses sentences such as "I marked with much curiosity . . ." or "Hair tonic was my mental exploration . . ." or "my puzzled mind was soon relieved . . ." In "The Scourge" (XXXVII), he frequently uses rubber-stamp phrases such as "this stricken mother and father will have only a proud and fond memory of him . . ." or "A

²² See Part One, "The case-study approach," pp. 16-18, for a discussion of the elements in writing on which an interpretation can be based.

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sad misfortune indeed." More examples could readily be added.

Another aspect strongly evident in Paul's writing is his oratorical and argumentative tendency; in relation to this feature of his writing, it should be recalled that he is a great talker and likes discussions in and for themselves. The oratorical style is especially prevalent in his papers on war. This stylistic artificiality may be due to the fact that the topic "War" is emotionally significant for Paul, and represents an area in which he deals with anxiety and aggression; this inference seems justified in the light of the interview material. At other times, Paul becomes argumentative, especially in papers XXXIII and XXXVIII. In "Operas? Pooh!!" he proves that only foolish people go to see operas. Paul himself is interested in music, but an opera contains too many heterogeneous elements, such as music, plot, words, and setting, to be appreciated simultaneously. He prefers a "plain musical concert." As with "Flowers," it is not the content of the paper which is of significance so much as the argumentative and aggressive component which finds expression in these writings. They reveal an amount of aggressiveness which is disclosed as frequently in Paul's writings as it is in his general behavior.

It is perhaps noteworthy that the only paper which is written with ease in style and composition describes a scene at camp, a period during which he was away from home. Although not too much importance can be attached to this fact, it nevertheless deserves attention in the light of what is already known about Paul's total situation.

Paul is not imaginative in thinking out plots for his stories. His poetry is bare of any feeling tone. Imaginary people play no rôle in his writings; wherever he introduces others they represent living people whom he knows. The nature of his fantasies is indicated in a paper entitled "What I Think About When Alone." He does not like to write at all and, therefore, in themes of free choice he resorts to discussions about music, war, future.

The two papers on war (XXVII, XLIV) are of special interest with regard to the transfer of personal problems into the impersonal and general. The danger of being destroyed, which seems to be closely linked up with the acceptance of maturation, makes Paul determined to take action to prevent war. "It is we the

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younger generation who are going to be sacrificed in the next war"; ". . . another war may mean the destruction of all mankind." Paul deplors the indifference of the rest of the class toward the problem. The recurrent argument against war (see discussion with Bob, XXXV and XLIV) is the fact that today a war does not guarantee the "survival of the fittest." Implicit in this argument is Paul's own concern with his physical adequacy and fitness. He expects that anti-war propaganda will make "people *think* about these issues." There again, thinking, as a process for resolving conflicts, appears as it did previously in the interviews.

There is some indication in the paper entitled "How I Have Changed Since the Beginning of — School" (XXXII) of how thinking came to assume for Paul the importance which it has at present. Paul wrote the paper at the age of 14-0. First of all he feels that he is "not quite as noisy and boisterous" as he used to be, i. e., he has learned to control himself in his aggressiveness. At the same time, he does not "make a fool" of himself as often as he did, i. e., he is not compelled to inflict punishment upon himself as often as he used to. Concomitant with better self-control, "I am not quite as liberal as I was" in "views," i. e., he has acquired more severe standards in conduct and morals. Assisting him in self-control are routine and the schedule which filled him with glee, "periods ended on the dot like 10:42, 3:17, etc." The concluding sequence illustrates further what has been suggested; "We think of more serious and important things," "we are physically more developed," "I'm glad not to be as wonderstruck." The paper describes how the first conflict of maturation has been overcome by repression ("not quite as liberal") and by sublimation (thinking), both aided by set routine ("We had schedules we could stick in our pockets"). The school records (XI) that Paul was going through a difficult phase in his social adjustment at the time when he wrote this paper. This fact makes the inference about his writing not quite so speculative as a first reading would suggest.

In the remarks about "Home Novels" (XLII) Paul openly expresses his identification with the family. He does not "understand" characters from adventure stories but can easily follow

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family stories because "so far my life has been almost wholly a family one." He likes a "happy ending" which gives one "a rather nice feeling" (XLVIII). In relation to his family no manifest conflict has yet appeared. However, he describes his friend's mother in a character study (XLVI) which deserves close attention. In this story the mother seems to be "trying to steal his friendship away from Albert." After Paul has written down these words he becomes suddenly blocked and does not finish the sentence but fills it out with a series of dots. Continuing, he explains the criticism at once by saying, "I do not believe she means to be so. . . . Her poor humor is inborn. Her mile-a-minute talking and her hospitality are well meant." The guilt following personal criticism is reminiscent of his effort to see something good in everybody. Since he still lives emotionally in his family and is still identified closely with his parents, any censure or blame of adults is experienced as a criticism of his own parents. This is only one more indication of Paul's compliant attitude toward adults, which shuts off the expression of any aggressive components tending toward self-assertion and independence. It may be added that Paul shows rather good insight into Mrs. Bancroft's behavior, but the amused attitude of Roger and the complete absence of affect should be kept in mind. Since all writing contains some element of the author's personal experience, the story is probably motivated by Paul's own situation: Albert's home life may represent the conflict which Paul himself is living through at the time, without being conscious of it, namely the emancipation from the family.

It is not surprising to find several papers in which Paul expresses his concern about the future. The depression, and its possible recurrence, plays an outstanding rôle in this respect: it must be remembered that Paul, who matured early, was passing through his pre-adolescent years when the economic disaster occurred and that his adolescent development took place in the shadow of a depressed economic period. In spite of the fact that his father is much better off at present than he was before the depression, this period of general insecurity and sudden deprivation made a lasting impression upon him. In one story (XLIII) depicting two young men of his acquaintance, he elaborates the conflict of "learning versus job." The interview material has already indicated the

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meaning of this alternative. The theme is further expanded in "My Two Paths" (XLVII), where Paul expresses his uncertainty about becoming a great engineer or entering his father's business; he tests himself in a number of ways. In the light of his great insecurity at the moment, he clings to plans for his future. At the end of the paper he expresses his gratitude to the school and his parents, and concludes, "but what I am especially thankful for is the fact that already in my sophomore year in high school I have worked out a definite though flexible plan for my future."

In addition to his search for security in the future, Paul also refers to religion several times, and in *Man, the Unknown* (L), shows special satisfaction in finding religion and science reconcilable. He greatly admires the philosophy of the crippled minister (XLV) who expounds the belief that personal problems "are small and insignificant compared to those of mankind."

In the diaries (XXXIV, XXXV) Paul indicates his way of dealing with physical ailments. This material is apt to throw light upon his attitude toward physical impairment and discomfort. He fights illness, he does not give in. Instead of staying home after several days of sore throat, he merely returns for lunch and then leaves home to visit his friend Bob. He spends the afternoon with Bob discussing war, and they finally decide to meet nine years later: "we decided to meet at a future date . . . that is, when we grow up."

On several successive mornings, Paul does not feel well but goes "to school anyway" (XXXIV). We note that on two occasions (April 30, May 2) he follows the mention of his luncheon by stating that "Making this diary as I do does not really get my thoughts" or "I am recording most of the things I did, but I can't think of everything that I was thinking." Paul's explicit statement that he cannot say what is going on within himself should be considered in relation to the associative sequence of his remarks. Perhaps the fact that he is one of the very few boys who bring their lunch to school constitutes an embarrassing situation in his school day, to which he refers indirectly in his diary.

There are repeated indications of his real interest in politics (XXXIV, XL), as well as in music, mathematics, and war. These interests have heretofore been considered exclusively in their psy-

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chological significance and determination. It is important to note that, regardless of their derivation, they represent for Paul an outgoing participation in larger issues of human concern. They serve as means for intellectual and personal experimentation. As such they present possibilities of paramount importance for Paul, in terms of self-assertion, if he can succeed in withdrawing an undue portion of emotional investment from them. It is the emotional investment which accounts for his becoming so easily unreasonable during discussions, and which is probably responsible for the artificiality of expression and the oratorical phraseology which he uses in such instances. At the present time Paul does not express feelings of anger, love, or fear in relation to his immediate personal environment, but projects them into the realm of the abstract, into the future, or into the field of mass-catastrophes like war and depression. Nevertheless, his widespread interests are promising; the school reports indicate that they may finally secure for him the satisfaction of his abilities, an experience which he needs in order to advance in his social and intellectual development.

5. Observational Material of Elementary School (1926-32) with Interpretation

OBSERVATIONAL MATERIAL

Elementary-School Records (LI-LXIX)

- LI Report of admission examination. Age: 6-0 May, 1926
Very methodical, very independent. Typical businesslike child. Not a question that he will get on in our school. . . . Talks through his nose, but has a bad cold just now. Says "think" for thing; "nothink" for nothing. Evidently Austrian inheritance. . . . No reason for not admitting him.

1926-27, Grade I. Age 6-4

Teachers' estimates:

- LII October, 1926
Paul is a bright eager child. His speech, which was exceedingly bad, is showing some improvement. He reads first-grade reading easily. His attitude toward his work is splendid. . . . He seems older than the others. . . . His attitude toward the group is fine. . . .

- LIII January, 1927
Exceedingly restless; hence, very disturbing to children near him. Very active but is usually a wild effect of arms and legs and flying smock. Rhythm and coördination ability decidedly "lower third" rating.

- LIV May, 1927
Paul has continued throughout the year to do very good work. He has not developed the leadership expected. He is in most ways irreproachable but he could do so much more. . . . His attitude toward the children of the group is not always good. He is at times petulant. This interferes with effective leadership. His speech improvement is slow.

1927-28, Grade II. Age 7-4

Teachers' estimates:

- LV January, 1928
Paul's progress during the first term has been very uneven. In some respects he has done very well, but some teachers

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feel he has to be pushed to get on. . . . He is popular in the group but lacks the decision and patience necessary to make him a leader. . . . His reading is very fine, both silent and oral. He has some very fine ideas for written work but results on the whole are disappointing, seeming to indicate a lack of application. Voice is pitched very high and creates a nervous attitude in himself and those working with him. He has tried to overcome this but so far with little success.

Paul is a jolly, pleasant, reasonable child, with qualities for leadership and ability to go far if he will concentrate and develop higher standards when judging his own achievements.

He has ability to understand situations and discuss them fairly. His judgment often shows decided maturity.

LVI

May, 1928

Paul has completed a very satisfactory year's work. He stands out particularly in academic work. In spite of being much admired by the group, he is very modest and at no time has shown superiority. He is quick to admire the good work of others, finds something to praise almost always and never criticizes unkindly. This makes him a popular member of the group.

Paul is unusually musical, but has not a pleasant voice.

1928-29, Grade III. Age 8-4

LVII Report of psychological examination

September, 1928

Stanford Revision of Binet Test:

Chronological age: 8-4

Mental age: 12-4

IQ: 148

Comment: Paul's Binet record is really one of the notable ones. His basic age would be 14 years were it not for his failure to repeat 10-year-old sentences and to interpret the 12-year-old pictures. After that he passed two-thirds of the 16-year-test and one-half of the 19-year, including the very difficult ingenuity test.

Teachers' estimates:

LVIII

January, 1929

Somewhere during last summer Paul developed an exaggerated ego. He started in the fall not only feeling superior, but with the expectation that everyone else was going to consider him so. He took the floor and kept it for a while, trying to be witty then looking about for applause. His jokes took the form of pertness several times, and after he found that

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the results were most unsatisfying and rather unpleasant, he settled down and took his place in the group.

Paul is a bright capable child. He has a sweet sunny disposition which wins him his way with everybody. He is very popular with the children. He is a sensible boy. . . . Sometimes he resorts to playful fooling when the situation calls for a different type of judgment. He is one of the strong members of the class.

Paul's weakness is writing. He also needs to work on his voice. He is too loud and sometimes he does not pronounce well. Soon after school opened, Paul became excused from gym. (See LXIX.) He did good work early in the term.

LIX

May, 1929

Unless we guard Paul carefully he is going to become very conceited. He is a bright child, but alas, he knows it only too well. He is constantly looking for commendation. Paul gives one the feeling that he is straining and over-reaching to do things beyond his age and comprehension, in order to give the impression that he is unusually clever. He is self-conscious and not natural. Because Paul learns so easily, he does not work as hard as other people do on the few phases which are difficult for him. He can learn poems with the least effort. Yet this year he kept putting them off until the time passed and he had not mastered as many as are expected from a third grade child. Paul can and does do things well, but unless you foster the sweet side of his nature and try to keep his mind off himself he will develop into an unbearable "I know it all" type of child. . . . He is too talkative and needs to have more consideration for others. Paul has been excused from "gym" during the second term (see LXVIII).

LX Excerpt from letter to Paul's mother from principal

May, 1929

It seems to us here at the school that it might be well for Paul to have a little work in voice training in order to improve the quality of his voice. . . .

1929-30, Grade IV. Age 9-4

Teachers' estimates:

LXI

January, 1930

Paul is a very well-meaning boy. He is earnest and eager. He has an excellent mind. He is annoyingly inquisitive at times and apt to be very noisy. He also talks too much. He is slightly handicapped in his participation by a tendency to be argumentative. His academic results are very good. He thinks

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coherently and quickly. He has a retentive mind with ability to group new ideas readily. He is a natural mathematician. He is anxious to please and tries to follow directions. Paul returned to "gym" at the beginning of the year. He is at odds with the boys a great deal.

LXII

May, 1930

Paul's second term has been much like the first. . . . He is capable of using very good judgment but his reactions are at times immature. . . . His childish pranks are sometimes annoying. . . . He is handicapped by his loud voice and clumsy habits. He is a very likable boy. . . . He does very good academic work, outstanding work in mathematics and spelling. In fact, academically, I believe he could have done fifth grade work this year. For social reasons, however, I have not considered it advisable to recommend it. He is young for the group though large physically. Paul is unusually musical and works excellently.

1930-31, Grade V. Age 10-4

LXIII Report of psychological examination

September, 1930

Stanford Revision of Binet Test:

Chronological age: 10-4

Mental age: 16-10

IQ: 163

Teachers' estimates:

LXIV

January, 1931

Paul seems to be a mathematical genius. He rarely makes an error, and the standard tests reveal his arithmetic age as over fifteen years. He is equally precise in statements, spelling, and punctuation, but in composition he has no style. In writing verse he works out the meter mathematically but it is not poetry. In contrast to this he seems very slow to see a joke. When he sees the point he often finds it so funny that he nearly has hysterics. He lacks physical control, falling down frequently with no apparent cause. The family physician says he will outgrow this. He is a great favorite with his classmates both because of his skill in mathematics and because he is a great laugher and over-spontaneous.

LXV

May, 1931

During Paul's arithmetic periods this term he enlarged a map of Europe, drawing it to scale from a small copy. He showed the same care and exactness as he does in his arithmetic. I am still astonished at times when this brilliant boy is slow in

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getting directions. It is this kind of thing that made a classmate say of him, "Paul has brains, but he hasn't common sense." . . . He is not only brilliant, but he is a tireless worker as shown in the map drawing and his tapestry. I suspect that in his extreme concentration on a subject he does not get his mind in the attentive state soon enough to get the directions given.

LXVI Poem, written while in Grade V

The Bobolink

The charming little Bobolink
Does a curious thing
His summer home, which is New England,
He leaves by early fall.
He then goes down to the sunny south
A very indirect way;
He goes to the rice fields of Carolina
And eats the precious crop.
There he then is killed in thousands
By the farmers' guns.
Then he goes down to Brazil
To stay there for the winter.
Then in spring he comes back home
But comes directly north.
He stays throughout the summer days
To cheer us with his songs.

1931-32, Grade VI. Age: 11-4

Teachers' estimates:

LXVII

January, 1932

Paul stands head and shoulders above everyone else in the class. No wonder he is nervous and poorly controlled. He is always pleasant and well meaning, and shows a very nice spirit under criticism. But there is great need of careful watching of this boy on the part of both school and home, to keep his life as simple as possible and as wholesome physically, and to keep him from being overstimulated, lest the gap between mind and body, which is now so wide, be widened still further.

His work has been above average in everything except shop and art. In shop he does not waste a minute and talks in a loud voice nearly all the time he works.

Paul is well-mannered, helpful, and coöperative in spirit always.

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LXVIII

May, 1932

The most unusual thing about Paul is that he is so unassuming and modest. Neither I nor the children knew, for instance, that he plays the piano beautifully and even composes. When we planned our first concert, he played a memorized piece in a most mature and masterful way. When we planned the second concert, he asked in the most matter-of-fact way if he should play his own composition or something else. We said, of course, his own composition. He played a by-no-means short or trite Barcarole with as much ease and poise and mastery as he had played the other piece.

Paul has gained in physical control somewhat during the year. In "gym" he shows excellent ability while playing, but is still a "show off" at times. Paul's size and loud voice sometimes make him seem boisterous . . . he is good-natured and his spirit is always excellent.

LXIX Appendix, concerning health data, 1926-32

Attendance record:

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Days absent</i>	<i>Illnesses</i>
I	31	mumps
II	7	
III	23	chicken pox
IV	5	
V	13	
VI	1	

INTERPRETATION OF OBSERVATIONAL MATERIAL

When Paul enters the first grade, his social adjustment to the group is favorably mentioned (LII). During the second term, however, he occasionally gets into trouble with the other children (LIII). He is found to be petulant (LIV). This difficulty is probably related to his long absence (LXIX) for the reaction repeats itself in the third grade after his illness. Contributing to the friction between Paul and the group is his physical restlessness, which disturbs the children working near him. "Very active . . . a wild effect of arms and legs and flying smock." But the second grade again reports him as popular in the group (LV). Special mention is given to his unassuming attitude, to his readiness "to admire the good work of others" and to the fact that he "finds something to praise almost always and never criticizes unkindly"

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(LVI). This attitude does not persist through the third grade. Paul becomes conceited (LIX) and tries to attract the attention of the group by being witty, showing off and fooling (LVIII). "He is constantly looking for commendation . . . He is self-conscious and not natural" (LIX). Paul's jokes take the form of pertness several times, but the group as a whole rejects Paul's attitude in a way which renders his behavior very unsatisfactory and unpleasant. This causes his restraint and solicits his eager attempt to satisfy the group standards.

During the third grade Paul is ill for several weeks with chicken pox (LXIX). Unfortunately the reason for his being excused from "gym" (LVIII, LIX) over such a long period of time cannot be deduced from the records. The fact that he is excused indicates, however, that his physical development at the time is impaired and requires special measures. The fourth-grade records mention, for the first time, that he is "argumentative," "annoyingly inquisitive," and "at odds with the boys a great deal" (LXI). Whereas previously he made an impression of being "older than the others" (LII), he is now described as "immature" in his reactions (in contrast to his "good judgment") and annoying in his "childish pranks" (LXII). In the fifth grade the group's reaction to Paul indicates that he is "a great favorite with his classmates" (LXIV). In the years which follow he becomes a completely conforming child. There is no mention made of any of his unpleasant traits; on the contrary, the record presents a superlatively good description of his social behavior. He is "well mannered, helpful, and coöperative in spirit," and "always pleasant" (LXVII). He has exchanged his showing off tendency for extremely unassuming and modest conduct: reference is made to the occasion when he first admitted playing the piano, and later to his having composed a piece which he could play at the school concert (LXVIII).

While changes of various kinds can be observed in Paul's attitude toward the children in the group, his relationship to adults (teachers) is not subjected to parallel modifications. The somewhat contradictory report of the second grade (LV) indicates that Paul reacts quite differently to different teachers at one and the same time. On the whole, however, he has developed a con-

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forming attitude toward his teachers in general. This is especially true of the year following the upsetting experiences of the third grade. Paul is found to be "anxious to please and . . . to follow directions" (LXI). This, in the light of his provocative attitude toward the other children, makes his teachers affirm repeatedly that he is "a very well-meaning boy." It should be recalled that similar remarks of an excusing nature can be found in the teachers' reports of the eighth and ninth grades. In view of his compliant attitude toward adult standards and demands, of his intelligence and judgment, teachers frequently feel disappointment in Paul's failure to develop into a leader. The inconsistency in his relationship to classmates and to teachers probably defeats the group's acceptance of him in that capacity: teachers' disappointed statements about the situation suggest that they have tried a great many different devices to put Paul into a position of leadership (LIV, LV).

Paul's work habits (LII) and his achievements (LIV) are good. Yet, despite the fact that he does all the required work and "is in most ways irreproachable," the teacher feels that "he could do so much more" (LIV). The main success of Paul's school career occurs in the academic field; his tendency to excel in academic skills becomes more pronounced in the years which follow. His very first meeting with the admission examiner results in the statement: "Very methodical, very independent. Typical businesslike child" (LI). The subsequent records bear out what the examiner observed at first sight.

In the second grade Paul continues to be very good in reading, but his written work is persistently poor. "He has some very fine ideas for written work but results on the whole are disappointing, seeming to indicate a lack of application" (LV). In the light of his mature judgment, his inarticulate expressive power is remarkable. The second grade reports his progress as uneven, and the third grade still finds him unsettled and irregular in achievement. A Binet reveals his superior IQ (LVII) and teachers recognize his capacity for memorizing, which he does not utilize (LIX). Writing continues to be his weakness (LVIII).

The third grade, generally suggested as a turning point in Paul's social adjustment, is also followed by a significant consolidation

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of intellectual efforts in the field of mathematics. Paul is called a "mathematical genius" (LXIV). "He does very good academic work, outstanding work in mathematics and spelling" (LXII). His work habits are emphasized as earnest and eager, and he has progressed so rapidly that he might easily have done the next grade's work (LXII). Simultaneously with his compensatory effort, Paul becomes annoyingly inquisitive and childish in manner.

The Binet at the beginning of the fifth grade (LXIII) shows Paul's IQ 15 points higher than two years before. Standard tests reveal his arithmetic age as over fifteen years (LXIV). He continues to be outstandingly precise in punctuation and spelling, but his writing and poetry are without rhythm and feeling tone (LXIV). His interests are rooted in the rather abstract processes with words and numbers. His achievement in creative fields (art, shop) is regarded as low (LXVII).

Because Paul is at the top of the class in purely academic work or in discussions, it is even more surprising to learn that he is slow in getting simple directions or in seeing a joke (LXIV). "I am still astonished at times when this brilliant boy is slow in getting directions" (LXV). It is this kind of incongruity in Paul's mental reactions which makes a classmate say of him, "Paul has brains, but he hasn't common sense." Observation in similar cases indicates that an apparent block in getting directions is often the sign of a conflicted relation to adults; the arguments which follow such a failure to understand represent the acting out of this conflict on an intellectual level. Such a reaction from unusually bright children is always very striking.

Paul's intellectual abilities show themselves more and more during the last years of elementary school. In academic achievement he "stands head and shoulders above everyone else in the class" (LXVII). But simultaneously the "gap between mind and body" widens to such a degree that the teachers become deeply concerned about it, especially because Paul's motor coordination shows an increasing impairment at the same time. When Paul entered the first grade, he was an exceedingly restless child in class, "a wild effect of arms and legs and flying smock" (LIII). His coordination was rated very low (LIII). This condition must

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have improved during the subsequent years, for there is no material concerning this in the records. During the third grade Paul is excused from "gym" (LVIII, LIX), and illness keeps him from school for twenty-three days (LXIX). In the fourth grade he is reported "very noisy" (LXI), and his "clumsy habits" are mentioned as handicaps in his social adjustment (LXII). One year later his lack of physical control becomes even more pronounced, and the teacher reports Paul's "falling down frequently with no apparent cause" (LXIV). This symptom disappears subsequently; but generally Paul continues to be "nervous and poorly controlled" (LXVII). A gain in this respect is noted at the end of the sixth grade: the "gym" teacher finds Paul playing with "excellent ability." Probably due to physical inadequacy, Paul is still a "show-off" in "gym" occasionally (LXVIII), whereas in academic fields he has established a compensatory adjustment.

To parallel Paul's social and intellectual development with the development of his speech habits may provide further understanding of the coherence and continuity which exists in diverse manifestations of behavior. At the first interview with the admission examiner, Paul's speech is reported as poor (LI). Teachers constantly comment on the same deficiency during the first grade. Improvement is slow (LII, LIV). In the second grade Paul not only talks poorly but his "voice is pitched very high and creates a nervous attitude in himself and those working with him" (LV). From the third grade on, loudness of voice and a tendency to talk a great deal persist as a speech pattern. The same remarks are repeated in the reports during the following years: "He is too loud . . . does not pronounce well" (LVIII); "he is too talkative" (LIX); "voice training" suggested in letter to mother (LX); "talks too much" (LXI); "is handicapped by his loud voice" (LXII); in shop he "talks in a loud voice nearly all the time he works" (LXVII); "Paul's . . . loud voice sometimes makes him seem boisterous" (LXVIII). These indications suffice to make clear that Paul's voice as a manifest behavior pattern is of significance. The origin of his talkativeness during the third grade suggests at least that it is part of a total situation which marks this period as of crucial importance in Paul's elementary school life.

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In order to trace Paul's development, the school records of six years have been analyzed, single trends of behavior and attitudes being lifted out of context for isolated consideration. This breaking down of the material has been undertaken intentionally. It is assumed that personality trends or changes are indicated in each manifestation of behavior or its shifting pattern; that the details take on meaning finally by a comparative consideration of all the evidences which are parallel in time.

In summary, it can be said that Paul's attitude toward teachers is always satisfactory; his conflicts are manifested in regard to other children, and to learning as such. He is repeatedly mentioned as lacking in leadership; perhaps he was told this. His progress in the second grade is described as uneven; at times he has to face learning difficulties, as in writing, on account of impaired muscular control. Up to this point Paul's school life is not disturbed by any striking event and his manifest behavior stays within the limits of reasonable variations. The third grade is the time of manifest conflict and also the year during which physical inadequacy again moves into the foreground and interferes with daily routine; he is excluded from "gym." He gets into trouble with the group, becomes self-conscious, conceited, talkative. Paul tries to be the center of attention by being witty; he feels superior without making an adequate effort and expects everybody else to consider him unusually clever. He wants to do things beyond his age. These attempts to gain approval and adequacy fail throughout, an experience which must have resulted in severe disappointment.

The following year, grade four, shows calm after the storm, a final settlement of the conflict by compensation: intellectual superiority through effort in specialized fields. Simultaneously, the attempted resolution of the conflict situation is paralleled by regressive behavior patterns; remarks like the following at least indicate such a tendency: "childish," "immature," "anxious to please," "annoyingly inquisitive." The two processes, compensation and regression, amalgamated for a time, suggest that they represent coupled reactions, both employed in order to restore a less conflicted situation. Paul's illness and his parents' greater concern about his physical condition (excused from "gym") may well account for

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his temporary regression and his compensation on an intellectual level. Experimenting with the satisfaction to be obtained through both of these reactions finally results in the establishment of intellectual strivings; this, however, becomes invested with a regressive component. Consequently, processes such as learning, talking, thinking, have to be understood in terms of both these components.²³ Related to the compromise just described, are Paul's interest in numbers and words and his lack of interest in composition and art.

In the fourth grade Paul has definitely found the realm of interest which persists through the years to follow: mathematics and language (definition, spelling, punctuation). His social behavior is praised while his loud voice persists and the verbal character of his social contacts becomes predominant. During the years in which the described changes take place (after the third grade) Paul's lack of motor control and his nervousness slowly increase. At the same time he becomes extremely unselfish, unassuming, and well mannered, but indirect evidence of an unsatisfactory emotional compromise persists. How Paul's development continues and at a later age precipitates reactions similar to those revealed in his elementary school life has been shown in the discussion of his secondary-school records.

Paul's musicality which is favorably mentioned in the second grade (LVI) and again in the fourth grade (LXII) can only receive a concluding comment. His musical interest stands isolated and, if nothing else, serves to indicate that the picture which has been deduced from the records on the foregoing pages is still incomplete. Additional material which will be presented in the following section may contribute toward a better understanding of some of these details which are still obscure.

²³ The interview material was especially enlightening with regard to this problem: learning was equivalent to taking in food.

6. Adolescent Adjustments and Early Life History

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The material which is presented in the following was obtained from interviews with Paul's mother and father. In all, there were two interviews with the mother and one with the father; each parent was seen separately. Because of the informal set-up of the interviews, the information obtained is sometimes incomplete. The gaps which are not covered by pertinent material are the result of the interview method; however, this method produced information unobtainable by any other procedure.

The parents' reports indicate that Paul was a wanted child. He was born at full term with easy labor lasting two hours. He was in excellent health. He was breast fed for five months. During this time he was a plump and healthy baby.

At the age of five months, Paul developed a severe eczema which made sudden weaning necessary. The child was completely weaned in one day; he responded to this sudden deprivation with incessant crying. He refused all food for twenty-four hours. The mother walked the floor all night but controlled herself, letting him cry, and not lifting him except to change his diapers. She had decided not to spoil him. At the end of twenty-four hours the child gave in and, completely exhausted, accepted the bottle.

To bring the eczema to a stop, food restrictions were necessary immediately after the abrupt weaning. Experimentation with formulas resulted in a diet which the mother described as "almost a starvation diet." During this period, Paul suffered from frequent regurgitation of food. In spite of all efforts, the eczema did not clear up as expected. This made the routine care of the child painful and distressing. Thumbsucking became prevalent for some time.

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Toilet habits were established at one year. Before that time great attention had to be paid to changing his diapers immediately on account of his skin condition. As soon as he could sit up he had a lavatory chair. The mother did not keep him on the chair any longer than necessary and deliberately avoided saying, "Do it for Mother," for she felt that such an emphasis would have been a false one. From the age of two to four years, he amused the family and friends because he would say when he needed to use the toilet: "Attention please, Mother."

Although Paul had been a lively baby the first half year of his life, he showed a baffling inactivity and sluggishness after weaning. At times this worried the family a great deal. The diet may have contributed to his physical exhaustion and general weakness. His development after weaning became retarded. The eczema slowly improved but persisted in a less serious form until the age of seven, when his whole physical development returned to normal. Disregarding Paul's weakness, the doctor insisted upon strict rules proper to healthy children: he had to take water from a cup at an early age and handle a spoon before he could even sit up. The mother had great sympathy for the child, but wanted him to be self-reliant; so she followed the very strict rules prescribed to her.

Paul could not sit up until he was one year old; talking started at twenty months; walking at twenty-four months;²⁴ teething at fourteen months (normal time: six to seven months). At two and a half years he had tonsillitis; his tonsils were removed. Before entering school he contracted measles, whooping cough, and mumps.²⁵ At the time Paul entered school, he had developed into a very active

²⁴ For comparison see the following approximate norms of development as given by Arnold Gesell in *The Mental Growth of the Pre-school Child* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1925), pp. 369-371.

Sitting, without support 9 months (85-100% almost universal)
Talking, one word (not

<i>mamma</i> or <i>dada</i>	9 months (20-50%)
three words	12 months (85-100%)
five words	12 months (1-20%)
Walking, alone and un-	18 months (65-85%)
supported	12 months (20-50%)
	18 months (85-100%)

²⁵ See below, "Summary of health history," p. 199.

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child; in fact hyperactivity now characterized him instead of the extreme passivity of several years before. This hyperactivity at the ages of four and five was attended by a slight muscular incoördination, for which he received treatment. The condition improved during the first and second year of school. When he was twelve years old, he again became restless and hyperactive to such a degree that he had to refrain from sports and rest a great deal. A cardiac murmur was found, which disappeared later when his general health improved. When he enters the tenth grade (15-4),²⁶ he is allowed to take athletics again. The hyperactivity, however, is still in evidence at times of stress and fatigue.

Until Paul was five years old, he was spanked occasionally by his mother. His father never used corporal punishment. The mother felt that there were times "when he had to know" and she felt "he wouldn't know" without spanking. At the age of five the mother abandoned spanking and began to reason with him. This measure proved to be very successful. He was punished by being sent to his room to sit down alone and "think it over." His mother always joined him after a while, explaining to him why she had punished him; she made him feel that "her love for him had remained the same." Paul would put his arms around his mother's neck and the incident was ended. "We never referred to it again." Paul has always felt badly when his father or mother scolded him. At such times he used to go to his room of his own accord without saying a word. He was never sullen or resentful afterwards. His disposition was that of a compliant, sunny child. Even today (14-7) when he is scolded, he stays sunny and, changing the subject, will say shortly afterwards, "Mother, look at this," without holding resentment.

When Paul was about three years old, he played occasionally with other children, some girls a couple of years older than he, who lived in the same building. But he never seemed to care a great deal for the company of other children and never had any close friends. He was perfectly happy at home with his father and mother. One boy in the neighborhood, with whom he grew up, was a rather close friend for a long time. At present (14-7)

²⁶ Paul's age is indicated, in parenthesis, throughout the text wherever it seems desirable.

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Paul has great admiration for many boys and girls at school and mentions them frequently at home, remarking how clever they are at something or other. He walks home from school with a different group almost every day. On occasions, when the mother sees him in the company of boys and girls, she finds him irritable and impatient with the boys but most polite and on his good behavior with the girls. Paul talks with his parents about all his affairs. He seeks comfort in case of loneliness by talking with his mother. At other times he pats her on the shoulder in a brotherly fashion, if she inquires about his troubles, telling her not to worry, that he can handle the situation himself. He talks at home about schemes whereby he can make his teachers like him and whereby he can handle them.

Paul's parents never showed any prudery about the human body. Paul has frequently seen his parents naked. He still (15-1) comes into the bathroom when his mother is taking a bath to ask her about this or that. When Paul reached puberty, he said to a cousin at dinner, "I'm getting hair on my body." The remark was accepted by the family in a matter-of-fact way, whereas it shocked the cousin considerably. This went unnoticed by Paul. When the mother was describing a play, she remarked to Paul (14-11), "You see, in those days, to have a child without being married was considered immoral." "It still is," he replied.

Outstanding from childhood on was Paul's unassuming attitude, which has never been indoctrinated by the parents as a particular virtue. He never asked for things he wanted or needed; he was apt to say they were too expensive. His parents sometimes wished he would ask for things; he accepted everything as it was. Even up to the present he is pathetically grateful for a tie or a shirt. At the age of thirteen he asked, when offered a present, whether he could possibly have a violin. He had wanted this instrument for three years. His parents fulfilled his wish and he has been taking violin lessons ever since.

When Paul was seven, the mother bought a second-hand piano. While playing a piece she asked him if he would like to learn the notes. Paul said, "I know them already. This is C [striking it], and this is D-E-F-," etc. Paul had taught himself the notes from the encyclopaedia. For one year Paul received piano lessons from

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his mother. At that time the mother felt that, because she lacked any comparative standard, she might be asking too much of the child and expecting him to do better than he could at the moment. Therefore she provided him with a professional music teacher. She also took him to children's concerts a number of times. Paul's interest in music is keen and genuine; he practices both instruments regularly. During the tenth grade he and two other boys got together occasionally to play in a trio.

For both parents the home is the center of their life. Relatives play an important rôle and frequent Sunday visits bring Paul and his cousins together. There is one cousin who studies linguistics, with whom Paul likes to discuss languages. Paul likes family parties. He frequently used to go alone to visit his paternal grandfather, who was sick for some time before he died. Paul enjoyed these visits and later told his mother how glad he was that he had had the opportunity to really know his grandfather before his death. Paul's parents disagree with their family in matters of religion. Closest to him, however, was the orthodox paternal grandfather, who had an understanding and rather uncritical attitude. When the mother offered to get Paul (14-11) a ticket for *Green Pastures* she was surprised to find him reluctant to go. He said, "I want to keep the little religion I have." He thought *Green Pastures* was a "satirical" movie. When this misconception was corrected, he went and enjoyed it very much.

Both parents are seriously interested in Paul's education. They have frequent conferences about it. Their efforts are united and aimed in the same direction. In spite of the difficulties in Paul's physical development, the parents feel that they have never had any trouble in Paul's up-bringing. They were always eager to consider him a normal child, anxious not to spoil him, and determined to make demands upon him just as they would have if he had had no handicaps. He always responded well to reasoning as a method of settling difficulties and arguments. Whenever the parents have differences of opinion, Paul is likely to side with either one or the other, whichever he thinks is right.

Paul is an only child by parental intention. Both parents came from large families and they intended Paul to escape the hardships they had gone through in their own childhood. The mother

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had six older siblings and had always been treated like a baby in her family. Due to this experience she wanted to educate Paul in terms of self-reliance and independence. Her educational policy has been frequently criticized by her family. To protect herself against too much family interference she moved to another part of town soon after Paul was born.

The mother likes music more than anything else. "It expresses all emotions to me," she asserted. In discussing religion she spoke rather wistfully and said she sometimes wished she were religious. "We all have a feeling that there is something." She said that every year, on a certain religious holiday, her sister goes to her mother's grave. "I don't go. That isn't the way I have to remember my mother." She has the philosophy of seeing only the good in everybody; this attitude has been interpreted by her friends as a lack of frankness and she has been criticized for not saying anything to her friends that would hurt their feelings.

Paul's father is an energetic man and a fluent talker. He is good in sports and admired for that by Paul. The mutual relationship between father and son has always been excellent. The father took plenty of time to play with Paul when he was small and he still likes to do things with him. They talk together a great deal. The father's advice to Paul is briefly, "depend on yourself, have self-confidence, be modest, but have a certain amount of aggressiveness."

In spite of the moderate circumstances in which Paul's family lives, the parents never exerted any undue pressure on the child to be an economic success. They are anxious to provide him with all educational opportunities, but leave decisions about his future to him. However, their pride in his exceptional capacities and their eagerness to advance them puts a certain obligation for accomplishment on Paul.

School success or failure has never been talked about much at home. The mother never read him the home reports sent by the school. While attending the first grade, Paul told his mother one day that some parents of other children read the reports to them. The mother said, "These reports say many nice things, Paul, and a few things which show that at times you need help. Instead of

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reading them to you, I'd rather help you indirectly." This explanation satisfied Paul, and he apparently understood why his mother did not let him know the content of the reports. The next year, when a report came, he unexpectedly said, "That's the report from the school, isn't it?" The mother answered, "Yes," and read it silently in front of him. He did not ask any further questions about its content, and seemed quite unconcerned about it.

SUMMARY OF HEALTH HISTORY

<i>Year</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	5 8	eczema	weaning, frequent regurgitations of food, becomes inactive, ²⁷ delayed development ²⁷
	11	eczema persists in serious form	
1	0		sitting
1	2		teething
1	8		talking
2	0		walking
2	5	tonsillitis	tonsils out
4		measles ²⁸	growing hyperactivity
5		whooping cough (serious) ²⁸	muscular incoördination ²⁷
6		mumps	
		"running ears"	eardrums punctured
7			skin condition cleared up; physical improvement generally
8		chicken pox ²⁸	
12		cardiac murmur	hyperactivity, impairment of muscular control; no athletics
13			
15			return to athletics

General remarks:

Schneider Index: 13; very high in comparison to group (see XXX).
Markedly bowed legs

²⁷ No exact date can be given to this item.

²⁸ Without complications.

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ADOLESCENT ADJUSTMENTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE TOTAL LIFE HISTORY

As one recalls the views which Paul expresses in the interviews and considers again his behavior at the time, a picture of distinct individuality emerges. His feeling toward adults, his selection of friends, his elaborate philosophical systems, and the way in which he experiences fear are functionally interrelated. In their totality, they represent Paul's personality at a given period. It is true that the behavior, ideas, and feelings which have been manifested by Paul are generally experienced during adolescence, yet the total constellation of these factors varies with each individual and is, therefore, not general but individual in its significance. If Paul could be observed among a group of adolescent boys, it would become obvious that his behavior shows a pattern, an individual consistent way of interpreting the experiences which he encounters. The question arises as to what accounts for this particular way of feeling and behaving at a given stage of development; and why, among the vast variety of possible reactions, Paul selects one instead of another.

In the belief that the total past life experience of any individual is influential in determining his subsequent development, a great amount of material has been presented. Paul's adolescent behavior can be understood at least partly, if viewed in its psychological relatedness to earlier experiences. Particular consideration must therefore be given to his family and his early life; in the experiences of that period lie the clues to an understanding of his behavior in adolescence. The total material should be reconsidered with this historical perspective in mind.²⁹

²⁹ In collecting the data upon which this discussion is based, emphasis was not placed upon furnishing evidence concerning any one particular point. Therefore the material is naturally insufficient for reconstructing Paul's development in all its aspects and for demonstrating fully the important rôle played by Paul's early life experiences in his attempts to work out the tasks of adjustment which arise during his adolescence. At first glance, the available material seems to illustrate most clearly certain trends in Paul which are not susceptible to modification by general educational procedure, and to illuminate unsatisfactorily those traits which seem more important for education. This, however, is only apparently the case. For insight into the

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The influence of Paul's parents in shaping his attitudes, as they are revealed during the interviews at adolescence, is striking. The same tendency to accept parental standards without challenge is expressed in his compliancy toward adults, as well as in his inability to approach them. References to his father and mother are scattered throughout the material; they will be drawn together here in order to illustrate Paul's identification with his parents and the important part which this identification plays in determining his behavior and attitudes in adolescence.

Youth lasts, Paul believes, as long as one learns, and as long as one's father pays for one's support: maturity and economic independence therefore coincide. In conformity with his wish to remain a child, to prolong the state of immaturity, he denies himself any relationship which implies an aspiration for maturity: he does not participate in any of the social life which plays such an important rôle for his contemporaries; following out his father's advice, he postpones contact with girls until he will have completed college. This shows how firmly Paul has incorporated his parents' code of conduct. Whereas among adolescents the rejection of parental standards and demands usually prevails, in Paul the identification with his parents has been decidedly strengthened.

Insofar as the material discloses any reasons for the intensified identification, it points to the new demands emerging in regard to heterosexual adjustment and to maturation in general, and the resulting fears related to both. The security which he then seeks through identification with the adults in his family shields him temporarily from an acute difficulty; on the other hand, the satisfaction which he finds in that security and his reluctance to give it up increases his struggle to free himself from emotional dependence upon the home and to establish independence. Both tendencies, to grow up and to remain a child, are expressed by Paul as a conflict in an intellectualized form. The unquestioned acceptance of parental modes of conduct as standards for himself represents clinging to childhood status, and stands out clearly in the material as a personality pattern.

development and meaning of behavior is of paramount importance for educational theory and is a prerequisite for educational action.

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Paul's identification with his mother is not as conscious nor as obvious as his identification with his father; nevertheless, it emerges upon closer inspection. Referring to the education of his son, Paul repeats, at least in spirit, the educational policy which his mother expresses in the interview in regard to Paul's upbringing. Paul says, "For instance, there are some things people have to learn to do when they are told to do them." The mother felt that there were times "when he had to know" and without spanking she felt "he wouldn't know." Similarly related to the mother's attitude of finding something good in everybody is Paul's almost literal repetition of it and his avoidance of expressions of direct personal criticism. This philosophy has been highly esteemed in the family, predominantly by the mother, as an ideal in social intercourse. Perhaps Paul's attitude toward music, art, and religion is part of the same relationship, expressed through identification. The mother played the piano at home and she says that "music expresses all emotion" to her. When Paul was seven years old she began giving him piano lessons. His mother also took him to concerts. She appreciated his early musical efforts and fostered his talent. According to Paul, the "mother's side" of the family is musical. The influence the mother exerted probably shaped Paul's relationship to music very early. It was one of the mother's activities which was valued in the family and taken up seriously by the child. Paul's response to art must also be recalled at this point. When questioned about his attitude toward art, he answered that his mother had always said that she could never "do art," using her almost as an excuse for his own dislike of it ("spit out art"). This response indicates how closely the mother, as a model, is associated with his own likes and dislikes. In spite of the sparsity of the material, it is perhaps of interest to point to the mother's wistful attitude toward religion in connection with Paul's great concern with religious concepts.

The various identifications which have here been elaborated may be better understood in the light of Paul's early relationship to his parents and the rôle they played in his social development. Paul's early training was very strict. The demands made on him disregarded his physical condition to a great extent. In spite of that, the child always showed readiness to do what he was asked

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and to please his parents. There is only one situation reported in which he reacted quite differently. When he was weaned suddenly, he cried for a day before he calmed down and accepted the bottle. Following this violent reaction, his whole behavior changed: he grew passive, indifferent; he showed no preferences, no likes or dislikes, but was willing to accept his mother's wishes in lieu of his own. His passivity was so marked that it impressed the parents as unusual. Experimentation with food, together with an irritating skin condition, put further strains upon him, and also prolonged his dependence with respect to physical care. Other than passivity, regurgitation of food and thumbsucking were the only signs which indicated an unsatisfactory state of adjustment, physical and emotional, after weaning.

In these early reactions to sudden deprivation, rudiments of patterns can be discovered which determine Paul's later behavior, particularly the protective devices he employed to prevent the repetition of any deprivation. Identification with his parents can be understood as a means to this end: it postpones attainment of maturity, which implies depriving one's self of childhood protection. As the threat of maturation increases, his protective identifications simultaneously become stronger. Paul makes no attempt to supplant the authority of his parents by setting up other adults, or contemporaries, as arbiters of his conduct. Such an attempt is commonly observed among adolescents: it represents part of the process whereby the identifications of childhood, reactivated during adolescence, are altered and expanded beyond the family circle.

But in Paul's case, there is no incentive to reject or supplant parental identifications. He is in agreement with their authoritarian standards: he says, characteristically, "They haven't given me too much discipline or too little." He finds home life completely satisfying, and he needs it as a protection against new experiences which, by giving freer expression to his emotional life, would make him socially and emotionally mature. He demands no right of self-assertion, appears to have no desires of his own. His unassuming, undemanding attitude reveals itself during adolescence as it did during childhood. It is, indeed, characteristic of Paul. Not to want anything represents the complete renun-

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ciation of all wishes; he manifested this in infancy when he became passive, undemanding, unapproachable, a situation in which his adolescent reaction has its roots. He completely denies personal wishes, instead of modifying them in terms of a new situation. This all-or-nothing solution of a conflict reëmerges at adolescence with the rise of new, irreconcilable desires. Illustrative of this reaction is the interview in which Paul elaborates the alternatives of giving himself either to humanity (parents, denial of personal satisfaction) or to himself (own family, friends, pursuit of personal satisfaction). It is but another reflection of his close family dependence and his failure to shift his identifications from his parents to other adults and to people of his own age.

Since the rôle of the mother has been extremely significant in shaping Paul's personality, it is worth while to examine her attitudes and expectancies somewhat closely with reference to her own situation. She has always found her greatest satisfaction in having a family of her own. Being the seventh of eight children, she was always treated like a baby throughout her own childhood. After marriage, she withdrew from too close contacts with her family in order to enjoy the intimacy of a small family group of her own. This tendency of the mother's to establish a very close intimacy, in conjunction with Paul's prolonged need for care and protection because of his early illness, combined to keep the child from mingling with other children. He never seemed to need companions but was perfectly happy with his father and mother. His complete satisfaction within the family accounts, to a great extent, for Paul's difficulty, during adolescence, in establishing relationships with contemporaries and adults outside the family group.

Furthermore, the mother's intention not to spoil or baby Paul at a time when his physical condition called for "babying" evidently evoked a threat of deprivation and a feeling of helplessness in the child at a very early age; fear of deprivation consequently consolidated his dependence upon his parents, predominantly upon the mother. Provided he complied with his mother's expectation that he be "unspoiled," capable of doing things for himself, Paul could be sure of her approval and feel secure because of it. Outwardly he was therefore self-reliant, capable of doing things for himself. Paul's dependence was expressed not by external "baby-

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ishness," but rather by identification (internal dependence), revealed in attempts to please, to satisfy, to excel. In fact, when Paul entered school, he created the impression of being especially independent, and yet dependent upon patterns, systems, regularities ("methodical"). His lack of dependence upon persons, the absence of personal attachments in adolescence, repeats this earlier attitude with striking similarity.

As long as Paul lived in the protective atmosphere of the family, he could preserve a feeling of security. But entrance into the school changed the situation. It introduced him into a group where many children were rivals for the attention and approval of one adult. In spite of the fact that Paul was always rather pleasant and friendly to other children, he felt them to be competitors, and pushed himself in order to be more capable than others. This became especially evident in the third grade, when his physical impairment and family protection aggravated his feeling of inadequacy; other children were stronger and better coördinated than he. This, in the light of his desire for approval, superiority, and contact influenced his development at the time. These drives constituted the basis on which, as the solution of his conflict during the third and fourth grades, he chose compensation on an intellectual level.

This particular choice was influenced by a number of factors. Paul was by nature a mentally alert child. Reasoning and thinking came to play an important rôle in his life at home, as the mother abandoned physical punishment and substituted "thinking it over." Furthermore, Paul's acceptance of adult demands and his inhibition of emotional response early turned his efforts away from social relationships and creative work into the areas of intellectual achievement, acknowledged and valued by his parents and others. When, in the third grade, his physical condition contributed to a sense of inadequacy in competing with classmates, it was but natural that he should seek to offset that inferiority by excelling his classmates in an activity which was valued by adults, and in which he could surpass with ease. A keen competitive drive, added to his natural ability, resulted in a sudden rise in intellectual power and performance ("mathematical genius").

Thinking and learning, then, at this time and also in adolescence assumed a specific importance. Thinking was used to settle prob-

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lems, to intellectualize impulses, to objectify fears, to discharge aggression, in general to restore emotional balance. It absorbed, therefore, a great deal of Paul's emotionality, and finally came to serve as the chief area for expressing and dealing with personal problems of various kinds. Where thinking thus represents a form of preoccupation with one's self it approaches the function which much of thinking possesses in childhood: it is directed not merely toward understanding and dealing with the world about but predominantly toward solving emotional conflicts in one's inner world on the level of imaginary or fantasied action. In view of his logical mind the lack of logic in Paul's various discourses suggests that it is, in part, this childhood rôle which intellectual activity plays in his emotional life.³⁰

Paul's reaction to learning illustrates further the emotional rôle which intellectual processes play in his development. Learning retains in Paul's adolescence a distinct infantile quality which he verbalizes in the interview. The reactivation of the response to early frustration, as exhibited at adolescence in connection with learning, is an indication of the seriousness which this early experience must have had.³¹ The significance of learning as acceptance or rejection of food can be understood by recalling that Paul's paramount deprivation was in relation to food at the time of weaning and during the period of experimentation with formulas. His passive behavior, or the lack of feeling response, greatly alarmed Paul's parents: the emotionally withdrawn, detached, impersonal nature of Paul's adolescent behavior in regard to social contacts and personal desires is apparently related to this first manifestation of its kind in infancy. Repressed emotionality leads Paul to the painful realization in adolescence that he is unable to form personal contacts with adults, or with boys and girls. His manifest behavior should not mislead one into believing that Paul's experiences do

³⁰ Compare supplementary material, "Discussion of Paul's autobiography (1938)," pp. 209-213.

³¹ His behavior at the time of weaning, described in the interviews with the mother, bears adequate testimony to the seriousness of the experience. To avoid misunderstanding, it may be repeated that improper and insufficient food over a prolonged period retarded Paul's physical growth. The retardation of physical growth is often experienced by infants as a threat and definitely influences the development of behavior patterns.

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not evoke any emotional reactions in him. In spite of his mingling with the crowd, he isolates himself personally. He releases his feelings of love, hostility, fear, and anger in indirect ways, predominantly through the use of verbal and intellectual modes of expression, instead of through relations with people. By this process he reduces even the parent-child relationship to a business proposition (indirect loan, investment), and thus divests this relationship of its feeling implications. His affects are then shunted into philosophical concerns, and into a search for religion, an area in which Paul feels free to reveal his emotional need for protection and security: "Is the power which created us interested in us or are we only little ants which are not protected by their creator?" The inability to give expression to his feelings may also explain Paul's rejection of all experiences which explicitly call forth emotional responsiveness, as well as those which are consciously related to imagery,³² such as writing, art, and operas. School records, writings, and interviews have corroborated each other in illustrating his lack of feeling tone.

No effort has been made here to reconstruct Paul's development in its totality; a few trends, the development of which could be traced in the material available, have been singled out for closer consideration. In the process, several traits characteristic of Paul's adolescence have been seen in the light of his total life history and have thereby acquired meaning. The outstanding trends in Paul's adolescent behavior and attitudes revealed a repetition of emotional responses which were established early in childhood: thus, the new situations, with which the inner and outer demands of adolescence confronted Paul, reactivated patterns of response which were not completely new. The dynamic rôle which childhood experiences play in adolescent behavior has contributed a partial reply to the question which this discussion set out to answer: Why does Paul in adolescence show certain particular reactions, interests, fears, and attitudes? The influences of his early childhood in general, of his first social relationships, and of his physical de-

³² It will be remembered that in reading a story he sees no images but just words. He is mainly occupied with ideas, principles, and abstract thoughts when his mind wanders.

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velopment in particular have been evident as causative factors. Furthermore, it has become apparent that those areas which were of outstanding importance in childhood, with regard to satisfaction or deprivation, became most markedly reactivated during Paul's adolescence. They reveal themselves, then, in modes of expression which are common to that age group, but they are modified by the specific capacities and the unique life history of the individual.

7. Supplementary Material

DISCUSSION OF PAUL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY (1938)³³

Autobiography

April, 1938

A Brief History of Myself

When I was younger, I was more introspective and could analyze my experiences more fluently than now. I was very much interested in problems of deity, after-life and peace. Then I went through a period where I forgot to do much thinking. My mind rested on its laurels, so to speak. I had thought out the problems as far as I could at that age, and when anybody would in my later stage pose a problem I had already worked out, I'd say to myself "Oh yes, I used to do a lot of thinking about that. I guess I know all about it," and let it go at that. This all applies to self-analysis as well. When a problem was asked, "Do you really know yourself?" I'd think, "Oh yes, I remember a lot of experiences that show my character," but in reality my mind was getting rusty.

It was quite a satisfying experience being one of a crowd of boys (this must have been between my ages of 5 and 9) on the block on Maple Street. We were divided into the "little guys" and the "big guys" (the latter were our big heroes of twelve to fifteen). We played stick ball, a version of baseball, on a few lots on the block. It was with a sense of security that I felt myself a small part of a fairly large but well-knit community. Never since that time have I felt this, with the possible exception of now, in my last year at school. I remember one very early time when we had a sort of field day against the boys from neighboring Brook Ave. We had the usual rivalry boys feel against neighboring blocks, and all I can remember is that I was pitted in hand-to-hand combat with a bigger "feller" from Brook Ave. I think he gave me a bloody nose or something, but I came through without disgrace.

³³ Paul's autobiography is given in unabridged form. It is the result of an assignment in English made after the class had been engaged in a study of autobiographies in literature. The teacher who gave this assignment to his students was aware of its personal nature. He had established an excellent contact with the group for about half a year before he attempted to ask his students to write their autobiographies. All the students responded very well in telling their stories, without clinging to a preconceived plan or following a borrowed pattern.

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Then appeared the ever increasing fact that I was drifting away from that life and was different from them. During my first three years at school, this was not very noticeable, but when I started the fourth grade, which kept me longer at school, I could spend less time on the street. This separation was progressive. Piano lessons used up after school hours. I remember that I liked school. The final blow at my place in the street community was struck when a house was built on the last empty lot on the block. To understand this point, a knowledge of the geography of Maple Street is necessary, but take my word for it that our house was thus isolated from the rest of the block. I became a member of the smaller backyard community of one house. For the first time I became conscious of the existence of boys younger than myself. I suddenly found that we were the oldest in the backyard community. The next result was that ever since I led a double life—one in school and one in the backyard. I was frustrated by boys with more "leadership ability."

The saving link from a complete split in my life, I think, was my friendship with two boys. Our families had been intimate since our infancy, and though I was on the point of throwing them over in disgust many times (and they me often, I suppose,) they proved to be the stable acquaintances in my life. To this day, we keep close contact. I will close this chapter with a brief résumé of my friendship with Joseph. I think he was quite an influence on me about this period. He was a little older than I and quite unpopular among the boys of the house. We had common interests in chess and "science." We went on several butterfly collecting trips together and did chemistry together. I remember him fondly though several other of my friends (notably the two on the last page that I still know) experimented with me and discussed affairs, Joseph was the only one seriously interested and conversant on my level. I seemed to talk down to any others. It was with Joseph that I discussed religion, science, psychology, and politics and acquired familiarity with these subjects. For instance, never having been trained in religion, I found myself fighting his no-Creator, scientific theory. This golden era ended when we both moved away in different directions about the same time. It is since then that my developed mind remained stationary and grew rusty. I guess I craved for some hot discussions with Joseph. I have never seen him since.

Discussion of Autobiography

This composition will be discussed according to the sequence of ideas presented in it. Since it was written almost two years later than the other compositions presented above (XXXII-L), it is apt to throw light on some changes which Paul may have under-

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gone during the intervening period. The literary style is, comparatively, much more mature than in his earlier writings. At the time when Paul wrote his autobiography he was 17-18 years of age, attending the senior class of the same high school.

In the opening sentence Paul compares himself, as he is now, with himself as he was when younger. Previously, he was more introspective, and he could analyze his experiences more fluently. What he considers "experiences" becomes clear in the following sentence, when he refers to the problems which interested him most, and about which he did much thinking; namely, "problems of deity, after-life and peace." He makes it almost explicit that these interests constitute personal concerns dealt with in terms of religion and philosophy. "Introspection," as a preoccupation with himself on an intellectual level, seems to have been abandoned during the past years. This he expresses by saying, "I forgot to do much thinking." In view of the function which "thinking" serves for him, one would expect to find Paul more outgoing after abandoning it, and more personal in his social intercourse. Information obtained from his twelfth grade adviser bears this out. He says, "Paul made more personal contacts and seemed to live under less strain. . . ."

Thinking as a protective device has somehow lost its compelling importance. This indicates that Paul is reaching out for new experiences (growing up), toward which thinking has represented an impediment by virtue of its evading quality (intellectualization). Nevertheless, thinking continues to be simultaneously repellent and attractive; this indicates a continuing ambivalence toward maturation. Paul says, "I guess I know all about it" and turns away from thinking, but he continues, "in reality my mind was getting rusty," a rebuke for not thinking.

The associative sequence which links the first and second paragraph, a very abrupt transition in fact, helps, perhaps, to understand what accounts for Paul's mind becoming rusty. After he has dealt with thinking in the opening paragraph and has described the decline of his thinking power, he recalls the "satisfying experience of being one of a crowd of boys." The experiences to which he refers took place when he was five to nine years of age. Thinking subsequently prevented him from relationships with oth-

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ers, from emotional attachment and direct expression of his affects; or, in other words, "thinking" replaced personal relationships with abstract intellectual processes.

At this point some data from the case history should be recalled. The period to which Paul refers coincides with his elementary-school years, before the comparative settlement of his conflict took place in the fourth grade. At that time he admired the "big guys" as heroes. He enjoyed being a member of a gang; he experienced a "sense of security." The feeling and sensations of this time are repeated now in his last year at school, a period during which the intellectualization of his conflicts has lessened and his sociability improved. In relation to the early gang period, Paul recalls field days and hand-to-hand combat, generally memories of aggressive actions supported by gang allegiance and loyalty. It is likely that Paul exaggerates his rôle at that time. The importance which this memory assumes among his recollections is what calls for particular consideration in this discussion. It indicates how intensely he wished to be the kind of boy he now remembers himself to have been.

The fourth grade meant a crucial change for Paul. "I was drifting away from that life and was different from them." He refers here, in his teens, to his intellectual compensation, which he describes as a separation from what he had enjoyed before. Practicing music at home and attending school took up his time. He became isolated and a member of a "smaller backyard community." This state of affairs lasted undisturbed ("I liked school") until Paul, at ten to twelve years of age, "became conscious" or "suddenly found" that there were boys younger than himself. This describes his realization of "growing up" (pubertal changes), an experience of which he says, "ever since I led a double life." The maturing process, considered in the light of his physical history, probably evoked comparison with other boys and intensified the feeling of social inadequacy: he says he "was frustrated by boys with more 'leadership ability,' " boys who were more mature, socially, than he at this age.

The double life represents a conflict between the school ("education") and the backyard ("experience"). Those two tendencies which to Paul seem irreconcilable and opposed constitute a per-

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sonal conflict in his early adolescence. He escapes a "complete split" by investing both tendencies in friendships with boys. At this point of the autobiography he mentions three friends, one a relative and two from a family with which Paul's parents had been "intimate since our infancy." The similarity between Joseph's and Paul's social situation ("quite unpopular") at the time of their friendship is noteworthy. Paul establishes relationship with those three boys on the grounds of shared interests ("science") and discussions. The emotional element in these friendships is very strong and finds release on a verbal level. These discussions, which became endowed with increasing emotional significance, produced anxiety and guilt at times. Then he was "on the point of throwing them over in disgust." Paul remembers "fondly" the heated discussions he had with Joseph. When finally the relationship became too intensely emotional in tone, it represented a threat and was abruptly abandoned: "I have never seen him since." On the other hand, he feels a "craving" for renewed "hot discussions" which, however, he denies himself.

The end of the "golden era" marks the time when Paul's "developed mind remained stationary and grew rusty." This remark reiterates the theme of the first paragraph in which he describes his changing attitude toward thinking. Thinking as an undesirable preoccupation with himself and discussion as an intellectual relationship to age-mates of the same sex both had to be overcome in order to avoid emotional conflicts. Because of the acute personal importance of these processes, the beginning and end of the autobiography strike the same note.

In what direction Paul's growth will proceed can hardly be discerned from this paper. It can, however, be indicated that he is discarding some of the protective devices which hampered his development in the past and that he has achieved a significantly more direct approach toward his problems.

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SPEECH ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION ³⁴

by

Stanley Newman

Examined in its motor aspects, Paul's speech reveals several features that indicate a vigorous and lively muscular activity: his tongue moves energetically in making articulations that are tightly formed and vigorously released; the tones of his voice cover a wide range of pitch; and he uses heavy, emphatic accents frequently.

Although his voice is potentially strong in volume, he modulates his tones from loud to soft by means of gradual volume changes. But this flexibility is not reflected in other speech characteristics where, instead, rigidity and habituation are manifested: his pitch patterns tend to be stereotyped, and his emphatic accents are monotonous; certain words and phrases ("really," "quite," "I mean") recur at short intervals in his speech; and during a class discussion he sometimes repeats remarks that he has made previously.

A strong affective pressure is indicated by the sweeping glides in the pitch changes of Paul's voice and by the numerous intensive terms he uses, such as "really," "quite," "completely," "particularly," which he usually accompanies by emphatic accent. But his speech does not flow smoothly and continuously, in spite of its emotional pressure. The stream of his speech is interrupted by many pauses of hesitation, often with a vocalized "er-er"; and he has a habit of breaking off a sentence and continuing his response in another direction.

In addition to these evidences of a hesitant and broken flow of speech, the responses of Paul, particularly his longer ones, show a good deal of incoherence, repetitiousness, and circularity in topical development. His speech in this respect contrasts with his writ-

³⁴ Based on voice recordings and observation in English class during 1937-38. In preparing this study Dr. Newman was acquainted with Paul's writings submitted to the English class but not with the interpretations nor any of the other data previously presented. He will discuss Paul's speech in relation to Paul's history and behavior in another paper, "Behavior Patterns in Linguistic Structure: A Case Study," *Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wis., George Banta Publishing Co., to be published in 1941).

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ing, where the subject matter tends to be tightly organized and presented with meticulous logic and form. The techniques of logical organization are occasionally discernible in his speech. One of his responses in a group conference recorded by the observer, for example, begins with "First of all . . . ," and one is led to expect an enumerative sequence; but the first point that he wishes to make is not at all clear, and he fails in this response to reach any second point.³⁵

Paul's vocabulary reveals some stylistic inconsistencies. As compared with the speech of his fellow-students, Paul makes use of a rather extreme and violent type of slang: he addresses the instructor with the attention-calling "Say!" and he uses "See?" to finish off some of his remarks to the instructor. On the other hand, he employs terms that belong to a more cultivated level of style: he is fond, for example, of using the polite intensive, "quite," but its stylistic connotation does not prevent him from placing it in a slang context, such as, "Say! You know you pulled quite a boner yesterday . . . ," when speaking to the instructor.

The slanginess of Paul's speech offers a clue to his socio-economic background, which differentiates him from most of his classmates. However, the prevailingly contentious and argumentative nature of Paul's remarks suggests that his violent slang has, in addition to its cultural implication, a personal significance as well, indicating an aggressive tendency that finds expression through speech. One gets the impression that Paul is always looking for a verbal battle, though he does this in a cheerful voice and with all evidences of smiling good humor.

In employing cultivated terms and phrases, Paul attempts to apply the official standards of acceptable speech to his own discourse. The use of a vocabulary that carries the stamp of convention and authoritative approval is more prominent in Paul's writing. In his speech this type of vocabulary and phrasing is only incidental, and it stands out in sharp contrast to the more prevailing slang. Evidently Paul reacts to the stylistic effect of individual

³⁵ The mentioned "incoherence, repetitiousness, and circularity in topical development" are well illustrated by the verbatim reports of the interviews. (P. B.)

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words and phrases, but he is unable to blend the two vocabulary levels—the slang and the cultivated—into an integrated style of speech.

The rapidity with which Paul initiates his responses, his spontaneity in making short replies, and the close relation in content between his opening phrases and the previous discussion of other people show a quick and eager responsiveness in the person-to-person situations that characterize speech. But several features in his speech—its interrupted flow, its incoherence, its stylistic peculiarities, its aggressiveness—interfere with his establishing an effective rapport with other persons. It is not possible to ascertain whether Paul is aware of the ineffectiveness of his spoken language as a means of entering into a sympathetic personal relationship with others, but he shows some evidence of self-consciousness about his speech. After the investigator had made dictaphone recordings of the students in group conferences, Paul was the only member of the class who asked that he be permitted to listen to the records of his own voice. In addition, his manner of reading passages aloud in class is self-consciously exaggerated and theatrical.

CONCERNING PAUL'S HEALTH HISTORY

by

School Physician

When Paul's health and physical development are reviewed in the light of his mental and emotional progress, there are several points which suggest a rather striking relationship between his physical and emotional development, and the influence of one upon the other.

His birth and first few months of life were relatively uneventful but at five or six months a serious skin condition occurred to alter his habits and reactions. As a result of this he had to be weaned from the breast and considerable difficulty was encountered in devising a suitable formula for his bottle. Regurgitation was frequent and because of this he suffered from malnutrition. It seems likely that his delay in walking and talking was caused by undernourishment as was his delayed dentition. Emotional involvement is indicated

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by thumbsucking which began at that time and ceased after his nutritional difficulties were over.

At present his most outstanding deviation from the norm physically is his marked bowed legs. This may also be attributable to the lack of sufficient nourishment during an important period in his physical development. While we have no definite evidence that he is particularly sensitive about this, it is reasonable to suppose that it has played some part, however small it may be, in developing his attitude toward his own physical status.

Whether or not this period of malnutrition in early life had any bearing upon the later development of chorea and muscular incoordination, no one can state with certainty but it is a recognized fact that physiological deprivations and frustrations, especially during early life, tend to make the individual hyper-irritable and therefore more sensitive to stimuli either from within the body or from without. This is in keeping with his impetuous, overactive manner of behavior.

From an embryological point of view there may be some relationship between his skin disease and his hyperactivity. Both the skin and the nervous system are derived from the same primitive germ layer in the embryo: the ectoderm. Therefore, characteristics peculiar to the one are apt to be peculiar to the other as well. As a matter of fact, this has been borne out in observations. Dr. Stolz has noted that "youngsters with hives and eczema are more apt to show irritable or temper responses than youngsters completely free from such conditions."³⁶ It is well recognized by internists dealing with allergic skin conditions that their patients react more quickly to nervous stimuli than do patients suffering with other types of disease.

Concerning his chorea, our information is not as accurate as it should be if we are to make unqualified statements. This is not due to a lack of coöperation or effort but rather to the inherent difficulties in making a definite diagnosis of chorea. This disease is not, as some may presume, a clear-cut entity which may be easily diagnosed beyond all question of doubt. It is often very difficult for even the most skilled physician to be absolutely positive in

³⁶ Jean Walker MacFarlane, "Some Findings from a Ten-Year Guidance Research Program," *Progressive Education*, Vol. XV, November, 1938, p. 532.

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some cases. During his period of malnutrition he was underactive, but since he was about four years old Paul has always been more or less hyperactive. When he was about four or five years old there was a period during which he was excessively so. About this same time he had the usual childhood infectious diseases: measles, whooping cough, mumps, and chicken pox. He also had "running ears." Whether or not one of these diseases affected his central nervous system to produce the chorea no one can state with certainty. Choreic symptoms are commonly preceded by one of the acute infectious diseases, most usually rheumatic fever, which Paul never had.

The reason for considering so carefully the etiology of Paul's chorea is that some authorities have regarded this disease as a mental illness akin to hysteria. It is variously alluded to as "a functional nervous disorder," "an infectious neurosis," and "cerebral rheumatism."

The statement has been made that "there is no chorea without mental symptoms."⁸⁷ Furthermore, it has been observed that "children who have once had chorea may later respond to emotional strain with similar movements. It is then very important to make sure whether one deals with a recurrence of chorea or with a more or less conscious attempt on the part of the child to escape . . . difficulties by means of the movements."⁸⁸

When we note that Paul had symptoms which were more or less suggestive of chorea over a period of years and that he had at least two attacks, insidious in onset, which closely simulated chorea, granting the possibility that they were actually not, the question naturally arises: How much of his trouble was on an organic and how much on a psychogenic basis? In all probability it was neither entirely the one nor entirely the other.

This in no way is intended to imply that Paul was a neurotic child or that he was neurotic when last observed. Quite to the contrary it suggests that in spite of his many emotional conflicts, he has been able to solve them in one way or another without developing definitely neurotic symptoms which would impair his capacity

⁸⁷ Leo Kanner, *Child Psychiatry* (Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1935), p. 188.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

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to function. It is likely that a boy with his superior intelligence and lack of introversion would be more keenly aware of situations and therefore recognize problems which a more dull or self-centered child would never be able to see.

When we look at his physical reactions from a perspective, he seems to have developed a behavior pattern which peculiarly expresses a physiological representation of his personality.

3

Theory of Adolescent Development

I. The Individual Case and Its Significance

Now that two case histories have been presented at such length and two adolescent personalities explored in such detail, the purpose of this inductive approach will need clarification. Obviously, no girl or boy will ever repeat the same constellation of life circumstances that occurred to Betty and Paul, nor exhibit the same behavior with identical underlying causes. It would be a mistake to draw the conclusion from these cases that all poor Latin students experience the same sibling rivalry as Betty or that all outstanding students of mathematics are seeking the same satisfactions as Paul. It would be no less an error to conclude that all young people whose basic problems parallel those of Betty and Paul will reveal the same pattern of interests, attitudes, and behavior.

Paul's intense interest in mathematics, for example, arose from the conditions peculiar to his own life history and his native endowment. Mathematics provided an appropriate field for his talents in abstract logical thinking; it also offered a comfortable impersonal medium through which Paul could assert himself successfully and, at the same time, receive the adult approval so necessary to his own self-esteem. But the same interest, when it is manifested by other children, will be the outcome of other causes. One child will find mathematics emotionally satisfying because of his need to identify with an admired parent or teacher who is a mathematician. Another may develop his mathematical bent in rivalry against a brother or sister with whom he feels unable to compete in any other way. Or, again, one child may express through the abstract processes of science, logic, or mathematics a desire for power which he cannot exercise more openly in personal relations. And another may find in the ordering of abstract symbols some measure of relief from the emotional confusion arising

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in disturbed family relationships. In each of these instances, of course, native endowment must be adequate for the pursuit of this type of interest.

In the same way the lack of interest and inferior performance in certain curricular subjects are the results of a set of motivations unique for each individual, and even in the student of undoubtedly superior intelligence such blind spots are apt to manifest themselves in a spectacular lack of comprehension for certain types of subject-matter. The case-history material of Betty and Paul provides many illustrations of the highly individual causes that lie behind the rejection of a particular subject-matter field. Paul's inability to derive any interest from biology, in spite of his unsatisfied curiosity about the biological features of sex, was due to the conflicted nature of this curiosity: he wanted scientific information on "how life begins," but he could not deal with this problem comfortably outside the sphere of speculative philosophy. His indifference to art, however, was an expression of his positive relationship to his mother, who also could never "do art." Betty's rejection of Latin represented a method of avoiding competition with an intellectually superior brother. Her rebellion against "good" music and literature was merely one among her many manifestations of a disguised revolt against the standards and pressures of her family.

No blanket generalization would serve to cover all of the personal motivations which children may express in overtly similar interests, positive or negative, and in similar forms of behavior. The number of possible cause and effect relationships between motivation and behavior could be multiplied without end. There are as many as there are children.

The educator is particularly concerned with understanding the reasons for the appeal or lack of appeal which a particular subject assumes for different children. But, as has been pointed out, there are no general causes for the interest in mathematics shown by some children or the poor work in Latin done by others. These are fragmentary pieces of each child's behavior, and they cannot be understood or dealt with effectively as isolated elements.

Like other attitudes and interests manifested by a human being, Paul's rejection of biology is merely a functional part of his unique

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personality and development, and it can assume meaning only if viewed within this broader context. In order to determine the reasons for Paul's dislike of biology, it is first necessary to understand Paul. This provides one justification for the case-study approach. Only in the light of each child's life history and native make-up is it possible to trace the development of those selected features of personality which concern the educator.

If intensive case studies are relevant only to the individuals under consideration, a further question may be raised regarding the general usefulness of such studies. Does the case-study approach, with its abundant, often painfully abundant documentation, provide material for gaining knowledge of adolescent development in general? Through the detailed observation and comparison of many individuals, it is possible to reach generalizations about the underlying features of development. As a matter of fact, this constitutes the inductive method of arriving at generalizations in any scientific study. In each case history the manifest interests, attitudes, and behavior will always present a complex and highly individualized picture, but these externals provide the most valid basis for personality study. They are the visible product of the interaction of many forces which are not themselves directly visible. It is only through the study of a number of individual cases, therefore, that it becomes possible to divest these overt manifestations of their individual and unique content and to arrive at the factors of psychological structure and functioning which are common to all individuals.

The two values of the case-study approach—its contribution to an intensive and detailed understanding of the individual personality and its contribution as an inductive method to the general understanding of adolescent development—are values which enrich and supplement each other. It is not quite true to say that Paul can be understood from a study of his case material alone. The knowledge of the general characteristics of adolescence, gained from the study of other cases, provides a perspective against which the uniqueness of Paul will stand out in bolder relief. The understanding of Paul as an individual, in other words, is sharpened by comparing him with other personalities of his social group and of his developmental age.

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It is well known, for example, that the process of rationalization is a common protective device employed at times by all individuals, adults as well as adolescents, in meeting their personal problems. It is also known, from the study of adolescent development, that heterosexual adjustment constitutes one of the crucial problems that each adolescent must face. Both Betty and Paul, as it happens, use rationalization in an attempt to evade a direct solution of their heterosexual problem. The same common psychic process—the mechanism of rationalization—is illustrated by both youngsters in meeting a universal problem of adolescence. But here the similarity ends. Each of them makes the kind of rationalization that fits into the pattern of his distinctive personality and into the sanctions of the group to which he belongs. Betty believes that boys like sweet and demure country girls and that, if she wishes to attract them, she must convince them of her innocence by appearing to withdraw from them. Paul, on the other hand, works out an abstract speculative scheme to justify his rejection of heterosexual contacts: he must choose between “education” and “experience,” two mutually exclusive concepts. By deciding to continue with his education, he must forego the independent status implied in an interest in girls. Betty is characteristically wavering in her rationalization. Her withdrawal from boys is followed by violent crushes, which serve to aggravate her self-consciousness and fear in the presence of boys; and through ballet dancing and other activities, she tries first one and then another form of compensation for her inability to find a satisfactory solution to her heterosexual problem. But Paul is resolute in his decision. He is consistent in avoiding any personal relationship with girls, and through intellectual achievement he finds a constant and satisfying compensation for his heterosexual renunciation.

Case material, then, can illustrate the common human processes and the common adolescent problems, but in each case history these processes and problems are actualized in the context of a unique personality. With the purpose of indicating the essential and typical reactions of adolescents, the case histories will be used as documentary source material. Where illustrations are taken from the cases of Betty and Paul, it is hoped that the reader will draw upon the larger implications of the histories, for a passing illustra-

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tion cannot do full justice to the richness and unique individuality of each. Needless to say, a presentation of adolescent development cannot be based upon two cases alone. The findings are the outcome of an intensive study of a large number of individuals. Consequently, the case material of other adolescents will also be employed wherever this seems to be of illustrative value.

2. Sources of Strain and Conflict During Adolescence

The adolescent period with its characteristic behavior is to be considered with reference to the culture in which it occurs. The physiological changes of pubescence are of undoubted importance in the process of maturation, but they do not operate in a vacuum. The development—particularly the social-emotional and intellectual development—is so closely related to the way of life established by the cultural environment that the pubescent process as such must be viewed in terms of the culture. "Although it is a fact of nature that the child becomes a man, the way in which this transition is effected varies from one society to another, and no one of these particular cultural bridges should be regarded as the 'natural' path to maturity."¹

In order to come to an understanding of the specific form which adolescence assumes in our culture, it is necessary to become aware of the many factors, intrinsic and extrinsic, which impinge upon the individual during this phase of development. The behavior attributes of the transitional period called adolescence can be looked upon as adaptive responses to outer and inner stimuli, conditioned in scope and medium by the culture itself. Far from permitting the direct use of new physical powers derived from maturation, the culture subjects the sex impulse, for example, to an involved training process which has a pervasive influence upon the differentiation and selective refinement of the personality as a whole. It has always been the recognized purpose of education to provide students with the kinds of learning experiences which would allow such changes to take place successfully. To understand the reactive behavior of the adolescent, then, it will be necessary first to explore those forces whose dynamic interplay serves to mobi-

¹ Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," *Psychiatry*, Vol. 1, May, 1938, p. 161.

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lize the resources of the individual and to precipitate characteristic forms of behavior.

In the following discussion, the forces which exert pressure on the individual will be taken up as separate items. But it should be stated emphatically at the outset that such an artificial dissection of a total situation, comprising the individual's inner as well as his outer environment, is adopted for convenience of presentation only. The separate items are not regarded as factors existing in isolation: they constitute elements of the environment of which the individual is but a part; or better, both represent a situation which must be considered in its totality before the parts of it can be properly understood.

It should be realized, however, that the factors operating upon adolescents do not provide a valid basis for making inferences about individual meanings. The way in which a particular adolescent interprets and reacts to a given source of strain, such as prolonged dependency, can be determined only if viewed in the context of his individual personality and development. Yet, a knowledge of the key points of strain and conflict during adolescence has a value that must not be minimized. There are circumstantial facts, readily recognized in present-day living, which have a significant, though an individually distinctive, bearing upon adolescent development. An appreciation of them will provide a frame of reference for educational planning and design.

PHYSIOLOGICAL FACTORS

Adolescence is most visibly characterized by profound physical changes, changes which are reflected in all facets of behavior. Not only is it true that adolescents of both sexes are deeply concerned with the changes taking place in their own bodies, but on a more subtle and unconscious plane the process of pubescent development affects their interest formation, feeling life, social behavior in many characteristic ways. These should not, of course, be regarded as the direct results of physiological factors alone. Cultural influences are at work simultaneously in shaping the forms of interest and behavior among adolescents.

There are, however, certain intrinsic features of the pubescent

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growth process which are relevant for the understanding of adolescent behavior and which therefore deserve special consideration.² Recent studies have called attention to the wide range in onset, duration, and termination of pubescence. Among the one hundred boys studied by Dr. Stolz there were "ten who were two or more years retarded and an equal number who were two or more years accelerated in appropriate male structural and functional characteristics, described in terms of chronological age norms."³ Among girls a span of five years, from eleven to sixteen, was found as the age range in which the first menstruation occurred. Chronological age, therefore, does not provide a valid criterion for physical maturation. Naturally, a certain stage of development will prevail among the majority in each age group, and this majority, supported by outside influences, will have a tendency to set the approximate standards for physical appropriateness in the group. Yet, the fact remains that the individual can regard himself as a deviate from the hypothetical norm, if at any time he is tempted to do so for personal reasons. In relation to precocity and retardation, Dr. Stolz has noted that only in one or two cases of the 100 boys studied was there "evidence that precocity contributed to maladjustment, but eight of the ten retarded boys gave evidence of emotional insecurity."⁴ All four cases presented in this book show evidence, which can be studied in its individual context, of the adolescent's tendency to focus attention on any signs of deviation in his physical appearance or functioning: Betty regarded her mole as a major disfigurement and used it as a prime symbol of her self-consciousness; Paul was the only member of his class who asked to hear his speech recordings, for he had been criticized about his loud voice throughout his school

² Some of the material in the present section was obtained from a lecture on "Physical Development of Adolescents" given by Dr. Herbert R. Stolz, M.D. at the Sarah Lawrence Workshop, Bronxville, New York, during the summer of 1937. For additional material, see Caroline B. Zachry, in collaboration with Margaret E. Lighty, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), especially pp. 35-44, the section contributed by Benjamin Spock, M.D., on pubescent growth.

³ Stolz, *ibid.*

⁴ Herbert R. Stolz, Mary Cover Jones, and Judith Chaffey, "The Junior High School Age," *University High School Journal* (Oakland, California), January, 1937, p. 68.

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life; Mary's glasses were a constant source of worry to her, and, despite her very limited finances, she tried to improve her appearance by frequent changes of wardrobe and hairdress; Joe's first remark in his initial interview was, "My whole trouble is in my build. I am overdeveloped."

It is well known that girls begin their pubertal development and attain full growth at an earlier age than boys. This difference in physical development between the sexes has an obvious significance for the grouping of children in classroom and playground. Children are generally grouped in accordance with their chronological age level. Consequently children of a given age but at different stages of physical development find themselves together in situations demanding social and mental coöperation and competition. The fact that pubescent change is responsible for the rise and decline of certain interests and attitudes has been borne out in a study of 1,000 junior high school girls, which showed that

a greater proportion of postmenarchial as compared with premenarchial girls gave responses indicating heterosexual interests and interests in adornment and display of person; on the other hand, they revealed a disinterest in participation in games and activities requiring vigorous or strenuous activity; they engaged in or were interested in imaginative and day-dreaming activities.⁵

The individual adolescent consequently must try to adjust himself to a group of age-mates showing a wide discrepancy in physical development and in the types of interest associated with their various stages of development. The differences in physical maturation, coming at a time of heightened group- and self-consciousness, have a significant bearing upon the emotional and intellectual development of the growing person.

In addition to the discrepancies in onset and duration of pubescence among a group of adolescents the individual himself follows a pattern of growth which is not uniformly distributed throughout his entire body. Each organ system is characteristically affected by growth, and when viewed in the total life span of the individual each system performs a consistent function in carrying

⁵ C. P. Stone and R. G. Barker, "The Attitudes and Interests of Premenarchial and Postmenarchial Girls," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, Vol. 54, March, 1939, p. 61.

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on his developmental process. But during the period of adolescence, the extreme accelerations and retardations in the growth of particular organ systems result in an uneven distribution of growth for the individual. Increase in body bulk may not be paralleled by increase in breadth or in height; the same holds true for primary and secondary sex characteristics. This lack of uniformity in organic development, described by Dr. Stolz as asymmetrical growth, makes far-reaching demands upon the individual's adaptive capacity, especially if it is realized that growth often takes place as a sequence of sudden changes rather than as a gradual smooth progression. spurts of growth in height, in muscular or genital development may manifest themselves in varying degrees of nervous or emotional instability.

Some children develop physically with such intensity and rapidity that their physical structure is carried away beyond what the nervous system is able to sustain without evidence of too much strain. The symptoms may be entirely of a physical nature, as, e. g., poor coördination, stammering, tics, or general bodily fatigue; or they may be mental reactions superimposed upon or independent of the physical symptoms, as self-consciousness, feeling of inferiority, hyperactivity, or perhaps the much abused term "laziness"; or they may manifest themselves on the intellectual side of the individual's life, slowing up his intellectual processes to the extent of making him appear dull.⁶

It is obvious that this unstable condition may be easily aggravated by outside pressures. The transition from elementary to high school, which takes place at the crucial period of early adolescence, tends to intensify the adjustive problem. On entering high school the student must satisfy new demands for increased academic achievement, and in passing from home-room teachers to subject-matter teachers he is confronted with an abrupt change in the accustomed social setting of school life.

Because the physical changes occurring during pubescence are of so marked and visible a character, the adolescent inevitably tends to make a comparative evaluation of his own physique with that of his contemporaries. Physical differences among individuals of a comparable maturity level—and these differences are even

⁶ Douglas A. Thom, M.D., *Normal Youth and Its Everyday Problems* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935), p. 23.

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greater in a group of the same age level—manifest themselves through variations in menstrual cycle and in breast development among girls, in genital development, voice change, and beard growth among boys. Such striking indications of sexual development imbue physical growth with highly personal meanings. The great majority of adolescents are inclined to be concerned with the normality of their physical status, and the absence of clear-cut norms in the realm of adolescent physiology merely adds to their uncertainty.

Physical development, furthermore, does not always progress in a sex appropriate course; it sometimes assumes features characteristic of the opposite sex. This seems to have a less disturbing influence upon girls than upon boys, perhaps because of the prevailing tendency for girls to prefer a boyish body build. Boys are much more troubled when they manifest characteristics inappropriate to their sex. Dr. Stolz reports that all seven of the boys "whose structural characteristics showed not only retardation in the development of maleness but an actual tendency toward the normal female pattern . . . were significantly disturbed by it."⁷

How shifts in growth pattern affect social and emotional development can often be readily observed among adolescents, and this relationship has been well described by Dr. Stolz. He tells of pubescent boys whose development progressed satisfactorily up to a certain point and then took the turn of becoming sex inappropriate.

Their reaction to life in general as they grew up was quite marked. The boys with sexually inappropriate development look sulky and unhappy whereas those becoming more appropriately male look . . . much happier.⁸

In order to be considered adequate by the individual, his development must be in keeping with a "group average." Any kind of physical deviation in his make-up may become a source of concern to him. Boys maturing very early and appearing years older than their contemporaries often face as difficult a problem as the late maturing child.

⁷ Stolz, Jones, and Chaffey, *ibid.*, p. 68.

⁸ Stolz, *ibid.*

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Altogether, of the one hundred unselected junior-high-school boys, there were seventeen whose atypical pattern of sex maturation constituted an important hazard to wholesome emotional development during these years. It would seem that acceleration, retardation, and actual status of growth in size is not so important in relation to emotional adjustment for the girls as for the boys. Nevertheless, for a considerable number of junior-high-school girls, deviation in respect to growth and maturation constitutes an important factor in determining appropriate activities for them.⁹

Pubescence is often marked by physical symptoms which make the afflicted adolescent acutely self-conscious of his changing body and complicate his acceptance of maturation. The disfiguring skin condition known as acne, the various forms of dysmenorrhea are likely to conflict a positive attitude toward growing up. Obesity of different degrees and types, especially among girls, leads to experimentation with diets, through which they hope to correct their undesirable body build. A changed attitude toward medical examinations, which the young adolescent tends to approach with self-conscious reluctance, is often prompted by the fear that the physician may discover inappropriate or abnormal characteristics in his development. This awakening awareness of the body, with its individual deviations, is well expressed by Betty at the age of fifteen: "When I came into about the seventh grade I didn't think about it [the mole] and then I became very, very conscious of it. . . . I never looked at myself before."

The period of pubescent growth, then, is one in which new and rapid physiological changes take place. The uneven distribution of growth during this period, the jerky and unstable progression of growth, the appearance of conspicuous individual differences, the sudden development of sexual characteristics with their intimate connotations are among the physiological factors which make severe demands upon the adolescent's adaptive capacity. These strains and conflicts press upon the individual at a time when the group as a normative influence acquires an increased importance for him, and when the impact of other cultural forces is being experienced with a new sensitivity.

⁹ Stolz, Jones, and Chaffey, *ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

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CULTURAL FACTORS

Culture may be viewed in two ways. To the student of society, it is conceived as a system of practices and beliefs, agencies and institutions. These are the collective products of a society. The school, for example, is an institution with a describable historical development, with a relation to other institutions and to the values and standards current in the society, and with somewhat varying manifestations in different localities. The student of human behavior, however, cannot be satisfied with such an impersonal conception of culture, valid as it is for sociological purposes. In a study of the adolescent's personality and development, it is necessary to approach cultural factors as they are experienced and given meaning by individuals in their concrete life situations. From this point of view the school becomes, not merely an external institution, but a place which contributes to the internal process of the child's development. Though it has certain socially recognized functions, the school does not operate upon all individuals with uniform results. Children come to the school with different personalities and are influenced by it in different ways. Other cultural factors, likewise, may be viewed as forces which pattern the individual's personality and contribute to his development in accordance with his sex, his level of maturity, and his unique life history.

To the infant the culture is vested entirely in the parents, and their particular way of meeting his needs constitutes his only direct experience with cultural forces. Other representations of the culture emerge with the broadening life-space of the child. The school, the church, the community also bring their influences to bear upon the child, modifying the earlier patterns established in the family. But, throughout the individual's life, these early patterns remain as the essential matrix for his subsequent cultural assimilation. They are of particular importance during the period of adolescence, when the individual, in striving to reorient himself toward a wider culture, repeats certain basic features of his first adjustment to reality which took place within the family.

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The Family

Family life as a form of group living requires its members to make specific adjustments and readjustments to one another and to preserve a state of emotional balance in terms of behavior and attitudes, obligations and restrictions. Any change introduced into the family group upsets the acquired equilibrium and makes new demands upon the adaptive capacity of its individual members. Sometimes the change is met by a smooth adjustment, and sometimes it is not. Such family events as the birth of a child, the loss of a parent, the emotional estrangement between husband and wife will have far-reaching emotional repercussions upon each member of the family and will complicate the accustomed way of living.

It is universally recognized that the dramatic events of birth and death within the family cannot fail to disturb the group stability. Yet there are other changes taking place, events of a less sudden and conspicuous character, which have an equally profound effect upon family life. Among such events are the developmental stages through which children normally pass and which require that parents modify their relationships and renounce gratifications which they had previously received from their child. At any time there exists among the family members a complex system of relationships, a regulative pattern which prescribes the giving and receiving of affection, which provides satisfactions through fixed channels of individual expression and circumscribes the specific rôle each individual is expected to play. The particular solution which appeals to the needs of a given family accounts for the highly idiomatic character of each family constellation. The variability among families is especially great in urban areas, where family groups are exposed to the many influences of a heterogeneous community and react selectively to those influences in accordance with their particular needs.

Pubescence, as one of the slowly emerging events within the family group, inevitably influences the emotional balance between its members. Before pubescence enters the family picture, the child fulfills his rôle as the recipient of parental affection and guidance, expressed in fondling, kissing, feeding, protecting, punishing, with an emphasis according to the particular family pattern. But with

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the onset of puberty, the child gradually withdraws from this rôle and refuses to accept the hitherto established forms of family behavior. Parents react to this situation either by accepting the change and adjusting to the new development, or they resist the change and are unable to renounce their accustomed ways of gratification. Between these extremes there lie all possible gradations. But much more frequent than any consistent and static response is the fluctuating attitude of parents. Warm acceptance of the child at one moment and angry rejection of him at another is perhaps the most common form of parental response, and it indicates the highly conflicted reaction of parents in the face of the changed family situation. Though it further disturbs family relationships, this is a perfectly natural way of responding. It reflects the equivocal status which is held by the adolescent in society at large, where he is given the protection of a prolonged childhood in some situations but is expected to assume the responsibilities of adulthood in other situations.

The ambivalent attitude of parents during the adolescent period of their child has a profound influence upon the adolescent himself. As part of his maturation he undergoes a change in his feeling life. The family ceases to be the legitimate place where he can display his feelings. While he often wishes to return to the safety of his childhood state, the investment of his feeling life with sexual components makes of the family a prohibitive retreat for the full satisfaction of his emotional needs. The stronger the family ties have been and the greater the self-sufficiency of the family group during the period of his childhood, the more difficult becomes the process of weaning during adolescence both for him and for his parents.

The maturing child normally seeks to replace his home relationships with outside contacts. He withdraws from the family in order to reorganize his thinking and feeling life: he replaces the exclusive parental influence in ideational and conceptual spheres by an interest in new fields where he can accept other people's modes of thinking; he transforms the family patterns into group standards of conduct and partly transfers the affectionate components of his relationships from his parents to persons outside the family. By so reorganizing his feeling life in terms of extra-familial

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socialization, he is likely to develop a more mature adjustment to the family itself. However, the estrangement from the family is one aspect of this development. Since it is accompanied by frequent demonstrative rejections and withdrawals, it is often misunderstood by parents and taken as a definite and irrevocable step away from them. To prevent their child's affection from flowing outside the home and to counteract the inevitable emotional drain upon the family, parents often take refuge in emotionally charged reprisals which merely serve to complicate the situation.

On his part, the adolescent is highly sensitive to the reactions of his parents, despite his carefully concealed and camouflaged feelings towards them. Though he may meet their reprisals with aggression or an apparent lack of responsiveness, he is nevertheless painfully aware of the effect his behavior has upon them. He cannot suddenly nullify his childhood loyalties to his mother and father. When he provokes their anger, he is apt to feel guilty; and in an effort to atone he may overwhelm them with a rush of affection. Particular situations, of course, evoke the subtle interplay of personalities that is unique for each family. But in general an unstable family relationship is created, in which the adolescent is as inconsistent in his attitude toward his parents as his parents are toward him.

Obvious difficulties arise from the fact that the parents are losing their child emotionally while they are still compelled to exert influence upon him, to provide for his education, and to be responsible for his conduct. In their managerial position parents are forced to take action and to justify their action in terms of recognized standards and values. But the adolescent considers their authority as an unwarranted attempt to continue the protective relationship of childhood and, on this basis, he will disregard or violently reject it. To substitute for the emotional satisfaction which they once enjoyed but no longer receive from their child, parents frequently take an active part in planning his life: they provide entertainment which they feel to be adequate, they directly or indirectly choose clothing which appeals to their taste, and they impress upon him the standards of friendship and heterosexual relationship which seem appropriate to them. In the same way they

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map out the adolescent's future, and through the many subtle inferences and gestures that make up a large part of family life they can hardly avoid demanding that their child measure himself up to their expected ideal.

The vague residue of their own adolescence frequently provides parents with their only source for understanding this age. The degree to which they protect their child is determined in many specific ways by their own life during adolescence, which they experience again—in retrospect, of course—through the adolescent period of their child. Under the force of this identification parents are inclined to solve the child's problems in terms of their particular experience and in accordance with the highly individual meanings assumed by this experience in their own life course. In this reaction lies much of the proverbial misunderstanding between generations.

This misunderstanding often leads to a stubborn form of estrangement, which may be illustrated by an excerpt from an interview with Ethel, a fifteen-year-old student.

Ethel says her mother has ideals of what is proper for her to do, which, however, do not answer her problems. She feels that times have changed since mother was a girl and that "one person cannot change the times." When she argues with her mother about her rights and obligations, the mother feels that this is a personal insult to her and goes on deploring that today children have no respect for their parents.

To such disagreements the adolescent often reacts with fantasies about leaving home. After an argument with her mother, Mary "felt like leaving home. This is the first time in all her life that such an idea has occurred to her." The fantasies may take such a threatening form that the adolescent is afraid to make them explicit. The following passage occurs in a letter written by a girl of eighteen.

. . . yes, I have been enjoying life . . . yet there's a fly in the ointment. Every now and then my mother and I have a grand and glorious battle. Then my strongest desire is to get a job so that I could be independent and leave home. Or even more evil thoughts enter my head. But enough of that. . . .

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The misunderstanding between generations becomes especially acute when immigrant parents are confronted with their American-born children who make use of the channels of personal and social expression provided by American culture.

Social trends of the power age which are slowly affecting family life also have repercussions upon adolescent adjustment. Delayed marriage and the resulting coincidence of middle age in parents with adolescence in their children places the child in an extremely important position for maintaining the family equilibrium. Parents are apt to seek compensations at an age when their own sexual life is in natural decline. An especially delicate and difficult situation is likely to exist between middle-aged mothers and their adolescent daughters. The emergence of another sexually mature person within the family often leads to disguised and unconscious jealousies between parent and child; in consequence, this may lead the parents themselves into mutual misunderstandings and conflicts which seem to have no rational basis. Unsatisfactory marital adjustment, open conflict, or divorce will have a profound influence upon the adolescent, who is undergoing the process of leaving the family and building up mature relationships to his parents. If the adolescent fails to carry through this phase of his maturation, or if it is unduly delayed and complicated by factors rooted in his home life, he may easily transfer his failure to the world at large and develop a discouraged outlook upon his future and upon life in general.

As another social trend the increased pace of migration is resulting in a lack of environmental stability. The rural population migrates in large numbers either to new rural regions or to towns.¹⁰ Urban families are moving more frequently from one apartment to another, and the apartments are becoming smaller. Members of the family are thrown into closer physical contact with one

¹⁰ "The American people have always been on the move, but during the past four decades there has been a steady increase in mobility. There is little prospect that regional interchange of the population will be any less characteristic of the future than of the past. In fact, an even greater movement of people from community to community and from state to state may be expected." Newton Edwards, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*, A Report to the American Youth Commission (Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1939), p. 132.

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another. In overcrowded homes the adolescent's much-needed privacy is being constantly invaded. These social trends raise problems whose intimate nature is well illustrated in the case of Mary, age eighteen.

Ever since that time, she has been sleeping in the same bed with her mother. She hates this. She sleeps at the edge of the bed and cannot stand coming into contact with her mother's body. She does not know why she feels so strongly about it. She is somewhat ashamed of her feeling of revulsion, yet it is always very unpleasant to touch her mother's body. She likes to be alone, but she has no privacy, Mary complained, when she has to sleep with her mother. But there isn't anything she can do about it. Her mother feels hurt when she senses Mary's attitude, and Mary is sorry that this is so.

In order to avoid the discomforts of an overcrowded home, Mary developed the habit of staying out until late at night.

No matter how favorable the past history or the present setting of the child, then, it is inevitable that the adolescent struggle for independence should be accompanied by occasional conflict or tension. The adolescent is torn between his desire for adult freedom and his desire for childish protection. He longs for the comfortable security of that very authority which he is so vehemently fighting. Yet he is equally impelled to grow up and experience the joys of adulthood—economic independence, the right to live by his own standards and ideals, and sexual freedom. These desires he is often ashamed to admit, even to himself, because of the implied disloyalty to his parents or because of a deep-seated fear of his own emotions. In spite of the evident conflict which Paul faced in choosing between dependence and independence, his only explicit criticism of his parents was directed against the casualness of their religious training; they should have supplied him, he felt, with a firmer religious background. As a bare statement, this is a mild enough criticism, and it is as far as Paul will allow himself to go in talking to an adult. But, for Paul, "religion" has personal meanings which indicate that his criticism has a wider significance than the bare statement might imply.

If the adolescent has older brothers or sisters who already enjoy a greater degree of freedom and toward whom the parents have worked out a more detached and mature relationship, he is likely

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to develop strong jealousies against them. He will demand the same privileges that they are given, and rivalry ensues. If the adolescent child has a genuine affection for his parents, it is difficult for him to fight them directly. He can carry on the battle much more easily by using his older siblings, rather than his parents, as the antagonists. If he has had an unhappy childhood and still feels resentful, he may actually enjoy hurting his parents, but he cannot admit this even to himself without deep distress. When his parents give in too easily to his demands for freedom, he is no happier for he feels abandoned and unready to accept full responsibility for himself. He may even construe their leniency as lack of interest and lack of love.

In the midst of this inner turmoil the adolescent is facing the necessity of making choices and decisions of far-reaching importance for his future. What is to be his vocation, and how can he best prepare for it? How shall he find his mate? Will he marry early or late, and what prospect has he of being able to afford marriage at all? How is he to manage his sexual needs in the meantime? What is a workable code in sex behavior, in business ethics, in marital pattern? What even is the accepted rôle for a man or a woman in our society today? Can he accept the religious and political affiliations of his parents? If not, what groups are to have his allegiance? These have always been difficult decisions. But today they are unusually difficult, for young people have no well-defined social customs and expectations to guide them. Their own parents are confused in the face of rapidly shifting economic and social patterns. They are unable to advise the children, for their own values and standards seem inadequate. Many of their most cherished beliefs and virtues have failed them.

With the economic emergencies which young people see ahead of them, their interest in politics has become more and more intense. A decade ago, during the Jazz Age, they invaded the realm of sexual freedom and alarmed adults with their excesses and crudities. Today they are invading the realm of politics and causing an equal amount of discomfort to their parents and to the public. Political convictions are sought by the adolescent, and political arguments in the family circle often become the basis upon which the adolescent establishes his independence from the protesting

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family.¹¹ Often the older adolescent has not only his own problems to face but must accept partial responsibility for his parents' support as well, and this in a world which offers him no assurance that hard work will bring success and satisfaction, or even that there will be any opportunity to work at all. Yet in this same society self-support is generally considered the measure of a man's adequacy. Not until he can establish economic independence will the boy feel that he has proved himself, and this is equally true for many a modern girl. But under the present conditions of economic distress the adolescent seeking a job frequently enters into direct competition with his parents and thus raises severe personal problems in his quest for economic independence. As an illustration, an eighteen-year-old girl, on the advice of the worker, was interviewed by a prospective employer, who expressed his full satisfaction with the girl and wished to offer her the job. The next day the worker received the following letter from her.

Knowing you would be interested in hearing the results of yesterday's interview, I am sorry I must write and say it was a failure. Everything went off well and I thought I had the position when Mr. — asked if my family was entitled to Home Relief. I explained that my Dad was on WPA. That ended the interview. You see, if I were to take the position, my Dad would lose his. Although it would mean a slight increase in our income, it would also mean the loss of what little self-respect my Dad has left. He wouldn't say anything if I took it, but

¹¹ "Because our educational system is still so generally lacking in any appearance of gradual conquest of real adult powers and privileges, adolescent emotional attention has been centered in extracurricular activities which contain symbolic assurances of growing up. In periods of prosperity these activities are chiefly social. The privilege of staying out late, drinking, using lipstick and rouge, driving a car, got their exaggerated emotional value in the Jazz Age from their sexual symbolic quality as marks of grownupness. These demands constituted, innocently enough, a rather devastatingly implicit social criticism of the jazz-boom world into which young people were growing up. That was what grown-up life appeared to them to be—and they can scarcely be blamed for trying to prepare themselves fitly for entrance into it. . . . It is inevitable in times of world change or uncertainty that the symbolic values of grown-up life should increasingly be sought by youth in the sphere of political activity. We might as well get used to it. We are going to see more of it. . . . Parents have to learn to get along with growing children who have different political views from their own." Floyd Dell, "Youth Faces 1940," *The Parents' Magazine*, January, 1940, pp. 16-17, 33.

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I know it would hurt him terribly, so I refused. I am sure you will understand. . . .

Needless to say, the struggle for emotional independence is bound to be more difficult in later adolescence if the child remains economically dependent on his family, for a parent cannot easily grant complete independence of thought and action to a child of any age whom he still supports and who still shares his home.

Changes in social conditions as well as in family relationships are thus responsible for many conflicts which the adolescent experiences in the medium of family life, and these are changes which influence and complicate his attainment of maturity.

*The School*¹²

Among communal institutions the school is the only one which influences all individuals, continuously and profoundly, from childhood until late adolescence. While the child is passing through the period of pubescence, family life gradually takes on a new pattern of mutual rights and obligations, and this readjustment is not without its obstacles even within the small and intimate circle of the family. The school, perhaps because it is a large institutional organization, seems to be less flexible than the family in accommodating itself to the manifold changes in the growth and development of its students. The same educative procedure which it employs for the child of five or six is continued in its handling of the adolescent student. Methods of teaching or group management undergo little change, the authoritative teacher-child relationship persists, and the maintenance of uniform behavior is achieved with very much the same instrumentalities that were applied at an earlier age. The lack of due acknowledgment of the fundamental changes in the physical status and personality of the maturing person results in a hampering influence which gives rise to many school and personal problems.

¹² In Part Five, the implications of adolescent development for the teacher and educator will be discussed. The present section will confine itself to a consideration of the potential sources of strain which confront the adolescent in his experience at school. Although schools vary widely in their policies and practices, the great majority of schools possess certain fundamental similarities in their rôle as communal institutions within American culture.

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The prolongation of a childhood relationship to the school is wholeheartedly accepted by some adolescents, but it is resented and rejected by others. The learning process thus assumes a personal meaning for each student, and his attitude toward the childhood rôle which he is expected to play in school is an important factor in determining the degree of his success in academic achievement. Paul was an example of the complying adolescent who abstains from the struggle for self-assertion as an independent individual and remains in the family as a child; he is also the student who continues his learning as satisfactorily as he began it in his childhood. The adolescent, however, who strives toward independence and resents the prolonged period of being the receiver of ideas and knowledge unrelated to his immediate and acute problems will seldom fail to show undesirable results in his school performance. In spite of her potentially high intelligence, Betty did not satisfy her teachers with the quality of her school work; she also failed to live up to the demands of her home whose protection and domination she resented.

The case of Joe will illustrate even more clearly the type of adolescent who is struggling to escape childhood ties and to achieve independence and maturity by leaving school before graduation. Four years after dropping out of school, Joe told the worker, "Well, I knew I would regret it that I didn't finish school. I knew exactly—but I couldn't help it. There was nothing I was interested in, except orchestra, and I wanted to work. When there was a chance for a job, I just left. . . ." Like Joe many adolescents leave school not only before graduation but also before they have made any definite vocational choice or have received any vocational guidance. The following statement was prompted by the findings of the Maryland sample test. "When it is remembered that half of the youth between the ages of 16 and 24 drop out of school at various levels between the early elementary grades and the completion of the ninth grade, at least one of the reasons for the scarcity of vocational counseling becomes obvious."¹³

¹³ Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story: A Study of the Conditions and Attitudes of Young People in Maryland between the Ages of Sixteen and Twenty-Four*, Conducted for the American Youth Commission (Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1938), p. 79.

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The highest proportion of drop-outs from school, over fifty per cent, made their decision because of economic reasons; more than twenty per cent simply gave "lack of interest" as their reason for leaving school.¹⁴

The student eager to assert himself on a mature level is inevitably subjected to recurrent strains at school. He must choose between his own desire for active exploration in fields which symbolize grown-upness and the demand of the school that he accept instruction. If he chooses the one path, self-reproach will follow upon his failure at school. If he chooses the other, a sense of inadequacy will result from the passive submission to authority. The conflict which is thus engendered will usually be solved in unstable forms and will be responsible for much fluctuation in interests and attitudes and for much irregularity in school attendance.

Essential phases of adolescent development thus display themselves within the school. Teachers are authoritative persons, and as such they become endowed by the adolescent with intentions and characteristics which scarcely conceal their origin. Conflicts with parents often not clearly realized by the adolescent himself are transferred to the school; affectionate as well as aggressive and hostile tendencies unexpectedly enter the school-room as the sign of family disturbances. Within the rigid system of most school situations such behavior is taken at its face value and dealt with solely on this level. Severe resentment may develop from the misunderstanding of student behavior and repercussions in social as well as intellectual development often follow in its wake.

Progress at school is generally measured on the basis of intellectual achievement. Consequently scholastic achievement receives the most elaborate consideration and fostering care. With the exclusive premium on intellectual and verbal performance, the school tends to neglect the physiological and social factors of student development. It makes demands on the student's responsiveness and comprehension without regard for the wide range of individual variability in pubescent growth or for the related and equally great differences in social and emotional development. This disproportionate emphasis on intellectual achievement and the failure to

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

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provide adequate opportunities for social development intensifies the normal disintegration of the personality which needs social stimulation and participation for its effective reconstruction during adolescence.

In trying to evaluate himself as an individual, the adolescent is profoundly influenced by the uneven consideration which he, as a whole person, receives from the school. He comes to feel that he is abnormally concerned with certain aspects of his life—with the growth of his body, with his social relations to peers and adults, with his rights and responsibilities in political and economic affairs—which, he infers from the school's attitude, are of negligible importance. If he accedes to the demands of the school by confining his efforts to intellectual achievement, he must ignore and fail to deal realistically with many of the problems inherent in the process of growing up. An out-of-school youth, struggling for vocational orientation, criticized the school's contribution in solving these urgent problems by saying, "Let us see factories, people at work instead of taking us to museums and historical places." But if he cannot define his problems and concerns in terms of the sanctions offered by the school, he must try to find culturally approved outlets for these concerns outside the school. The way in which the student searches for cultural sanctions, inside the school and outside, is of paramount importance in the formation of personality during adolescence.

The concerns of the adolescent, particularly the older adolescent, are focused on questions of the near future, on his way of life after he will have left school. Yet vocational guidance is still inadequate in most schools, though it is deeply appreciated and eagerly sought by students. According to the Maryland study, "one still finds that only sixteen out of every hundred have received what they consider helpful vocational guidance from their schools."¹⁵ Fear and worry about jobs and socio-economic matters are uppermost in the adolescent's mind. He knows that jobs are scarce, especially for people of his age. About half of out-of-school youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four is unemployed. To the adolescent this concern with a job is not

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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merely a cold economic problem. As one adolescent girl expressed it, "If you're to get ahead, it means displacing someone else." As soon as the student leaves school, he automatically becomes a competitor with his age-mates and even with people of his parents' generation. This element of social and economic competition is introduced into his life at a time when the adolescent also becomes a competitor with his parents, not only on an economic level, but in terms of mature physical, mental, and sexual powers as well. Such an extension of the competitive aspect of his life cannot fail to reinforce and intensify the conflicts of the maturing person and often to hamper his vocational adjustment.

As a response to the earnest concern of young people about jobs and about their wider social responsibilities, the advice given by adults is often transparently inadequate and disappointing. In the light of the present social crisis and imminent disaster, the standard philosophy of individual initiative and survival of the fittest can hardly be accepted by youth with equanimity. Paul's deep scepticism is representative of the adolescent's outlook on life. When asked about the relative value of going to college or going to work, Paul replied:

Well, that's one thing I've thought about a lot. I've thought sometimes that to get practical experience is more important than college. Like when you look through the classified ads you find out experienced men only need apply, you will find very few taken that haven't got experience. And the time to get experience is when you're young.

Disillusioned but hard-boiled, Paul discards the American dream, the days when the little bootblacks became millionaires. . . . Boys of twenty in college don't think any more that they can go out and lick the world. They're more sensible. And boys in high school worry about what they will do after college.

The great majority of youth not attending college faces these problems with even greater urgency during high-school years.

Peers

The social behavior of the child toward his contemporaries undergoes profound changes during adolescence. Whereas in the

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period preceding adolescence the family and the school are the most important agencies affecting the child's behavior and representing guiding principles in his life, this more or less unrivaled rôle is slowly transferred to the group of peers of which he is a member. Group opinion serves, then, as a selective influence for desirable and undesirable behavior, and the approval or disapproval of peers becomes progressively the most influential force in motivating adolescent conduct.

In early adolescence the formation of gangs represents the beginning of a group life which has its own distinctive characteristics. It is based upon exclusion of the opposite sex. Furthermore, members of this age group differ from older adolescents in the personality attributes which they value. It has been observed that young adolescents, studied in free recreational activities, are rather indifferent to values involving intellectual or socio-economic status.

. . . in these clubhouse social activities there was practically nothing on the surface which distinguished the bright from the dull, or the rich from the poor. Not until later adolescence was the stage set for such distinctions to assume importance, and then, it was often through parental pressure.¹⁶

Boys in early adolescence prefer the aggressive individual who is interested in organized games and disregards girls. Anyone who cannot live up to such group ideals loses prestige and experiences neglect, rejection, or defamation. It is not difficult to understand that many a child, before living up to the group standards, must first go through a period of experimentation until the new demands, which often run counter to parental expectancies, are reconciled with inhibiting taboos and earlier values. In order to belong to the group and to enjoy its prestige, the individual must overthrow many of his firmly established modes of conduct, a process which naturally engenders much hesitation and conflict. The importance of the group for the individual lies in the help and support it offers him in his attempt to reorganize existing relationships, feelings, and identifications, thus alleviating individual guilt through the responsibility assigned to the group.

¹⁶ W. Jaffray Cameron, "A Study of Early Adolescent Personality," *Progressive Education*, Vol. 15, November, 1938, p. 556.

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To obtain the moral support which the group provides, the adolescent must conform to its standards. No allowance for individual differences can be made without robbing the group of an essential element in its life. Under its stringent normative demands, the individual is easily brought into conflict if he is in urgent need of group approval but is not yet ready to conform to the behavior standards of the group. A boy who is unable to exhibit the behavior valued by his age group will be regarded as an outsider or a "sissy." Group pressure, then, in terms of adequate or esteemed behavior, takes on an increased power in directing the individual, if he is to belong to the group, to live up to its standards, ideals, and prejudices.¹⁷ This belongingness to the group, which becomes progressively important for the adolescent, replaces family ties to some extent and thus prepares him for new conformities and identifications implicit in the group life of adults.

In most supervised activities, children are usually grouped according to age. However, the social development of boys and girls does not depend upon their age, a fact which makes itself painfully evident at the pre-adolescent level.¹⁸ While the boys are still collecting, constructing, and manipulating, girls are already interested in problems of human relations and in expression through the arts; while boys are still firmly entrenched in their sex-restricted groups, girls have already developed a marked interest in the other sex. Girls, therefore, are inclined to make demands upon boys which they cannot meet adequately and which merely force them into a stronger defensiveness. As a result, girls are likely to encounter defeat in their first heterosexual advances toward boys of their

¹⁷ Such prejudices regarding sex differences were studied through questionnaires given to 100 boys and 100 girls, ranging in age from eight to fifteen. "The pooled opinion of both sexes and all ages is overwhelmingly that girls rather than boys are bright in school, cry when hurt, and cannot endure pain, are easily frightened, especially by the dark and by strangers, are kind to animals and to small children, are not given to teasing or destructiveness, tire easily, move slowly, and do not stick to a hard job, are truthful, honest, not likely to cheat, and will do the right thing even though not watched. The boys in comparison to the girls show the reverse of this picture." S. Smith, "Age and Sex Differences in Children's Opinions Concerning Sex Differences," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, Vol. 54, March, 1939, p. 23.

¹⁸ For a clarification of "pre-adolescence" as distinguished from "adolescence proper," see below, "Types of reactive behavior in adolescence," pp. 279 ff.

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own age group. The fact that boys must compete with girls who are much more mature than they are—and this at a time when their own mental and social capacity is being affected by profound personality changes—this circumstance is likely to result in strains which give rise to the behavior disorders and neurotic manifestations occurring so frequently in boys at this age.

The increasing importance which peers assume for the adolescent is well expressed by a fifteen-year-old girl, who believes there is a marked difference between youth at thirteen and youth at fourteen. "At thirteen," she says, "I had friends and never thought much about my friends. When I was fourteen, it was very different. If they wrote something, I felt I ought to say it was good in order to please them, whereas when I was thirteen, I would have said exactly what I thought." The great dependence on group belongingness and acceptance is naturally at its height at a time when the adolescent leaves the family, its protection and support, and has not yet the capacity to function independently on a mature level. "My greatest need," said a fifteen-year-old girl, "is to learn to make and keep friends, to get along especially with those who appeal to me most."

The intermediary phase of social development which takes place at adolescence can be properly evaluated only with reference to its intrinsic functions and meanings. One of its most unique functions is to establish a group life with its own standards, values, appreciations. This group life, often referred to as peer culture, has a decisive impact upon the adolescent's development and is indeed far more influential at times than adult opinion or judgment. In fact adults are often unable to comprehend the peculiar logic of adolescent behavior that is perfectly reasonable to adolescents themselves. A girl of fourteen expressed herself on this matter and said that sometimes she felt that boys and girls of her age understand each other better than their parents understand them. For instance, she continued, "They'll do some silly thing, and the parents won't understand why it is they're so silly. . . ."

The ideals of personality attributes and behavior patterns at adolescence proper are essentially different from those of the pre-adolescent years. In fact, individuals considered quite appropriate or ideal in the eyes of the gang cannot continue to hold their status

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on the same basis. Changing demands are made by the maturing group. Although the unkempt and aggressive boy conforms to pre-adolescent ideals, a few years later the same characteristics will be considered inappropriate in the group's opinion. The element of heterosexual adjustment enters the field, and boys as well as girls find group approval in the type of behavior that displays their specific sex rôle and promotes sex differentiation.¹⁹

The particular modes of behavior, however, are highly dependent on the subcultural milieu in which they occur. It should not be forgotten that the overt forms of adolescent behavior are determined essentially by the code of values, by the level of aspiration governing the social group to which the adolescent individual belongs. From lower-class metropolitan cellar clubs, with their direct sexual gratification, to middle- and upper-class refined and controlled forms of heterosexual behavior, there are innumerable gradations. Symbols of grown-upness vary widely in different socio-economic strata. Therefore any one overt form of behavior will carry different meanings for the individual, dependent on the particular standards and ideals which are predominantly regulative in a given group of adolescent boys and girls. Where there is marked heterogeneity in cultural background, group standards will be set by the strongest prevailing influences, but the clash of subcultures in the group will cause considerable difficulty for those individuals who cannot accept modes of conduct unrelated to their own background.

This diversity, which is encountered in most school situations, leads to the formation of special sub-groups and cliques, each emphasizing a different set of personality standards, ideational values, and the like. The verbatim report of an interview with Dorothy, age fifteen, will illustrate how such groups operate in the school.

"Do you see any distinct grouping in your class?"

"Oh, decidedly . . . different types of girls who stick together. There is a bunch of girls who go around together. I know Kate and I haven't picked anybody. We just have a good time together, and go

¹⁹ For an intensive study of peer culture, see Caroline McCann Tryon, "Evaluation of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents" (monograph), Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1939.

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where we please, and there is one very snobbish group. Then there is one which is always whispering. The snobbish group selects its members from among the students who are "their type." Lots of them are quite nice, but they make up and just do silly things like that. Then there is one group of girls who are very bright, and they just kind of stick together because they are worse if they don't. There are some groups that are just alike, but they are divided, and there are some girls who just go around, and there is one girl in the class who doesn't go around with anybody. I didn't pick her out for a friend—there must be something wrong with her. . . ."

"Do you think the idea of the girls in the other school was somewhat different from the one here?"

"Yes, in the other school there were two distinct groups. One group was the society group who went home right after school the minute the bell rang. The other group played basketball and hockey together in the afternoon."

She was asked which group she thought Helen belonged to.

"I don't know, some of them don't accept her."

"What do you think this snobbish group is snobbish about?"

"They think they know more, and everybody else wants to know—they think everybody else wants to know where they go—I think they think everybody wants to know all about it, and nobody ever cares."

In addition to behavior and personality attributes, there are certain physical characteristics that are more highly valued than others. The late developing boy or the boy showing inappropriate sex development is handicapped in his social development on account of group discrimination. It has been observed that changes in physical status are followed by a changed attitude of the group: thus a boy with retarded maturation was long an outsider until a spurt of growth set in which subsequently led to his smooth absorption in the group.

The strong patterning influence of peer culture can be observed in the distinctive forms of dress, adornment, hair style, speech, hand-writing, social behavior, mannerisms that characterize each high-school class. The desire to be accepted by the group—to attain popularity—is the motive driving many an adolescent to imitate others who are apparently more successful, to study the likes and dislikes of his contemporaries, and to change his behavior frequently in the effort to gain status and approval.

The group of contemporaries is uncompromising in its demands that the adolescent conform to its standards of behavior and belief.

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It offers him in return a security in group belongingness and in collective responsibility at a time when he is abandoning childhood relationships and reorienting himself in terms of mature goals. In response to the pressures of peer culture, his family patterns of relationship, identification, and feeling life are gradually modified in the direction of group norms. On the other hand, the individual is bound to develop conflicts in his experience with peer groups. Although these groups exert a normative and leveling influence, they are essentially transitional in character. The adolescent must constantly readjust himself to changing standards that successively occur in each peer group, changes due to leader influence, majority trends, or outside pressures. In addition, peer culture with its distinctive structure and idiomatic behavior is denied status by society at large, and it is regarded primarily as a destructive and undesirable, a foolish and queer expression of the impulses of young people. Such adult indifference or hostility towards the adolescent's treasured peer standards raises a further difficulty: if he is loyal to his group, he denies himself adult acceptance and approval; if he complies with adult demands, evading the possibility of asserting his independence, he loses the recognition of his peers. Although such alternatives never present themselves in so simplified a form to the adolescent, they nevertheless touch a theme which, with many variations, enters into each adolescent's development. The particular way in which the adolescent meets this aspect of his growth, moving gradually from a family centered existence through peer culture and on to adult forms of group life is of crucial significance for his attainment of maturity.

The Community

At the time the young person is leaving the family and seeking relationships outside the home, the community assumes a more important rôle in his life. He enters, so to speak, a higher category of group life which emerges from the smallest unit of group life represented by the family. Nursery, school, playground, and street begin very early to socialize the child, while the family still remains as his center of security. In exploring communal institutions the child tries out his new powers, but he still continues his basic relationship to his parents as people who provide and protect.

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The attainment of physical maturity eventually forces the adolescent to seek sources of security and affection outside the family and to establish himself gradually as an independent and self-supporting individual. The community becomes the wider field in which he redirects his various needs in accordance with attainable satisfactions and prevailing sanctions. In order to do this he must develop identifications patterned upon those he first established in the family, but identifications expressed in the broader terms of community interest, socio-civic awareness, and choice of vocation. He must also comply with normative demands that are often as difficult for him to meet as were the first demands and regulations in his training during infancy.

In fact, adjustment to new responsibilities, new experiences, and independent decisions at adolescence repeats essential features of the early adjustment to reality made by the infant. With security and satisfactory relationships in his first years of life, the healthy child is conditioned to approach reality with confidence and outgoing curiosity. But at adolescence new and more complex factors are introduced into his adjustive problem. Whereas the adolescent personality is itself more complex and able to cope with greater obstacles, the individual's second profound attempt of his life to orient himself in a broadened reality seldom occurs smoothly. Whatever his experience at adolescence may be, it will add its influence in molding his subsequent approach to reality and in defining his attitude to life's problems in general.

Upon entering the community as the social field in which to enact and establish his maturity, the adolescent meets with a severe rejection. Since independence and adequacy—at least for men—are measured by the ability to hold a job and earn a living, it is but natural that the adolescent should yearn for remunerative work as the unmistakable symbol of adulthood. He values the job not only for the earning power it gives, but also for the opportunity it affords in providing him with a participating rôle in communal activities. Through the job he can earn self-respect and strengthen his own sense of social and personal worth. In view of the importance attached to the job as a means of social initiation, the experience of young people at the present time is most unfortunate.

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Of the twenty million out-of-school youth between sixteen and twenty-four years of age, there are from eight to twelve million who are partly or totally unemployed. This means that the highest unemployment rate of any age level is to be found in the group of older adolescents and young adults. And yet large numbers of adolescents drop out of school and give as their principal reason the desire to "get a job." The school itself pays little tribute to the adolescent's active attempt to establish his maturity; he leaves school because his struggle toward maturity is ignored and even discouraged in the school environment. After making the crucial decision to leave school, the adolescent tries to enter the community on a mature level and finds himself rejected. In terms of individual growth, the significance of his initial contact with the community cannot be overestimated. He finds himself unwanted, an experience which throws him back into the family and often fosters the development of asocial and neurotic trends. The community has no need for him as an adult competitor on the labor market. Thus defeat is his first experience in the search for mature social action. This defeat delays and conflicts the attainment of status in the community and prolongs adolescence over an unduly long period. However, in times of special emergency, as during the World War, youth is suddenly given a mature status in the community. In such emergencies within our own society, or under the conditions of life in pioneer and primitive communities, youth shows itself fully capable of mature accomplishment. Physical and mental tests also reveal that the older adolescent, when given the opportunity, is able to function on a mature level. But because of changing socio-economic conditions in the last generation, the position of youth in society has been altered: young people have been shut out from competition with adults, denied status, disregarded as a social asset, and forced into prolonged training, education, or inactivity.

Youth organizations, aware of the situation, have tried to assist young people to receive some measure of communal recognition, but their work is being carried on in the face of increasingly difficult conditions. In spite of the mounting economic crisis, tension has been alleviated to a remarkable degree by the rehabilitation of youth through community programs giving recognition to the

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social usefulness of young men and women. Youth of the National Youth Administration feel that this organization has aided them most substantially by making them able to help support the family budget, to provide for their own education, and to be financially independent in the small incidental expenses which they must meet if they are to have any social life at all. This changed economic position has given them an improved status in the family, in their age group, and most important of all, in their own eyes. The experience on a job has reassured them as potential wage earners and has given them the feeling that they were a genuine part of the social forces which "make the wheels go 'round." As evidence of the constructive experience which the holding of a job—even though it is only a part-time job—represented in terms of personality development, almost nine-tenths of an NYA group asserted that they have gained confidence in themselves through the jobs they have held.²⁰ The crucial importance of the job is also brought out by the findings of the Maryland sample test, in which two-thirds of youth consider economic security as identical with youth's own problem.²¹

The reluctance or open rejection, then, which the adolescent meets in his first attempt to give social expression to his changing concept of himself has the most far-reaching consequences for his development. If no recognition is given to the resulting conflict, and if the community fails to take care of it, the family is often unable to appease the turmoil which the frustrating experiences in the community engender. Naturally these experiences are less harsh for young people who continue their education far beyond high school and who may receive social recognition and prestige from the prolonged period of training. However, among privileged youth there is also manifest the same serious concern, often just as palpable as in underprivileged youth. The alternative between job and education, between experience and learning, as Paul put it, gains significance as a conflict related to the symbolic value which the "job" assumes for the adolescent as a proof of his adequacy and his capacity to function on a ma-

²⁰ Mary Rodgers Lindsay, *Youth Gets Its Chance* (New York, National Youth Administration, 1938, mimeographed), p. 179.

²¹ Howard M. Bell, *ibid.*, p. 250.

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ture level. The case of Paul has made it clear that postponed participation in status-giving activities is likely to affect the development of self-confidence and social adjustment; the alternative between education and experience often provides the battlefield upon which the individual's rejection or acceptance of his own maturation comes out into the open. The premium put upon intellectual training in the eyes of the community may compensate some young people for their deferred initiation into the ranks of adults, but it very often fails to do so. The uncertainty of the future throws its shadow upon the years of learning and training, which are often sensed as unrelated to impending realities.

The community not only provides jobs and gives status, but it also provides adolescents with the necessary heterosexual relationships and the opportunities for leisure-time activities. For young people faced with a prolongation of their youth there are clubs of various kinds that foster social development through group living and satisfactory occupations. These clubs no doubt are valuable agencies for adolescents, but insofar as they are organized to promote leisure-time activities, they cannot be accepted by older unemployed adolescents as a sole substitute for genuine participation in the more mature forms of life. This limitation is especially evident in metropolitan centers, though there are some promising community-school experiments which attempt to give youth status and function in communal life.²² The rural projects of the 4 H Clubs are often a replica of adult occupations in the community and thus assist young people in making a smooth entry into adulthood. In many communities the church offers the approved setting in which boys and girls can gather for social activities. It is a particularly appropriate setting for such contacts in communities which demand that young people choose their friends or, at any rate, select their husbands and wives from among persons of their own creed. In the more loosely organized communities, however, whose social life does not cen-

²² Elsie R. Clapp, *Community Schools in Action* (New York, Viking Press, 1939).

Paul R. Hanna, and others, *Youth Serves the Community* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936).

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ter about the church, the young people are not provided with any such simple and clear-cut imperative; they are often confused by the varying emphases upon the importance of church affiliation. Through social groups containing mixed creeds they may find a wider field for their choice of friends, but they may also come into conflict with the church traditions of their families. Mores that are in rapid flux can scarcely offer the dependable and assuring security of conventions. This social insecurity is especially acute in city life where the shift of cultural patterns makes itself felt with greatest intensity.

The confusion of mores is responsible for many of the recurrent problems besetting adolescents. The traditionally approved attributes of men and women are fading away, while new ones are not yet solidly established. Amidst these uncertainties adolescents are expected to define themselves in relation to others and to assume a sex rôle consistent with the cultural pattern. All too frequently, moreover, the family concept of appropriate conduct is in violent conflict with the personality attributes of the modern boy and girl. The modern girl is seldom a replica of the feminine ideal that the boy has assimilated from his mother. Though attracted to a girl, he may be equally repelled by the fact that she smokes or drinks, knows many men, or is self-supporting. Conversely, a girl may reject the dominant autocratic rôle played by a boy because this represents a rejected masculine pattern of behavior in a world which presumably strives for equality of the sexes. Despite such conflicts between family traditions and the changing mores, boys and girls must learn modes of behavior and attitudes that are prevalent in and accepted by their community.

The community, then, as the larger family into which the adolescent must grow in order to carry out his social and biological functions, does little to foster the period of transition. His adjustment in the community is largely left to chance, and present conditions are such as to postpone his entry into adulthood. It is no wonder that communal life, as part of the adolescent's immediate environment, often confronts him with overwhelming tasks.

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The Wider Culture

Forces emanating from a wider culture are brought to bear upon the child from birth. In responding to his physiological needs, for example, his parents are already conditioned to behave in certain ways. The very food he is given, the methods of preparing and serving the food, the time selected for serving are not the independent inventions of each child's family, nor are they conclusively dictated by nature. They are part of a system of cultural regulations involving practices and values associated with food and with other aspects of living, and these regulations operate upon all children in the same culture and subculture.

But they do not influence all children in the same way. Each family presents the child with a unique version of the culture, emphasizing or elaborating certain practices and abbreviating or omitting others. The aggregation of complex attitudes and reciprocal activities between mother and child or father and child forms a pattern of relationship unique for each family. Out of the raw materials provided by society, in other words, the family constructs a distinctive pattern of practices and relationships which operate upon the child intimately, and it is not until adolescence that the child becomes aware of a wider, intangible culture lying beyond his intimate experiences.

In examining the cultural factors influencing the adolescent's development, therefore, it is particularly important to recognize that the cultural boundaries of the infant or young child are represented by the family circle. The expectations, attitudes, and practices of his parents are his cultural frame of reference, and it is solely in terms of parental standards that he can accept or reject collective behavior. This is the foundation upon which subsequent influences are built. As the child extends his contacts beyond the family to the school, to gangs and other types of peer groups, to associations in the community, he begins to notice discrepancies, as well as similarities, in the practices about him. At home he is expected to act in certain ways, at school the expectations are somewhat different, and in the gang his behavior is again significantly different. Not only that, but he also sees the homes of some of his playmates; their parents, unlike his own, may speak

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incomprehensible languages and have strange ways of doing things. On the whole the young child does not inquire into these differences. He either takes them for granted, or he assigns them to the inexplicable whims of adults. His explanations tend to be confined to his immediate and tangible experiences with individual persons.

During adolescence, however, the child begins to seek more remote sources of explanation, sources that lie outside the confines of his family and community. He often tries to find a coherent code of ethics or a religious philosophy to explain the divergent practices of people and even the conflicting tendencies that he discovers within himself. Instead of the adventure stories of his former years, the adolescent turns his attention to biography and fiction, in which he can explore personal relationships vicariously and find men and women to represent ideal portraits of himself as well as ideal persons by whom he would like to be loved and respected. As the adolescent becomes gradually aware of social forces outside the range of his immediate experience, he may identify himself with national and international political issues and form passionate attachments to broad movements in social philosophy or in art. This desire to find expansive symbols for identification is illustrated in Paul's preoccupation with world peace.

Through such interests, the adolescent reveals one of his basic desires, that of constructing a more or less consistent world picture in which he can orient himself. In spite of the abstract nature of these interests and their reference to seemingly impersonal matters of a worldwide scope, he is concerned with a deeply personal problem. Essentially he is trying to define himself, but the task of defining who he is and where he belongs is characteristically pursued in terms of a far-flung universe. And it is of the utmost significance that this universe, whether national or international, whether mundane or divine, extends beyond the cozy world of intimate relationships which satisfied him as a child.

The adolescent's desire to relate himself to the wider culture is a potential source of development toward maturity. It indicates that the individual is moving from the status of a dependent child protected by parents and other adults to the status of an independ-

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ent person in an expanding environment. But, in our culture, this desire is also a source of potential strain and conflict. The culture provides no processes or techniques to help the adolescent define his status. In many primitive societies, the child is gradually inducted into the privileges and responsibilities of a recognized member of the culture. The boy, along with his irresponsible play, takes on more and more the tasks of tending the flocks, tilling the ground, or hunting. The girl assumes increasing responsibility in working at household tasks, in caring for the younger children, in tending the garden. Ritualistic procedures often symbolize the stages of coming of age.

. . . change of dwelling, entrance into youth societies, ordeals, tests of personal skill and endurance, acquisition of a guardian spirit, the importance conceded to adolescent dreams and visions, separation from the family group, disappearance from home into forest or desert, initiation into sexual life, freedom from childhood restraints, use of decorations, mutilations, serve as symbols of the enlarged status.²⁸

In Western society there are no such cultural recognitions given to the gradual process of growing up nor to the significance of puberty as a stage of maturation. The adolescent lives in a cultural no-man's-land between a protected, socially irresponsible childhood and an independent adulthood in which he is suddenly to take on the full responsibilities of maturity. The culture is so departmentalized that a special institution outside the family, namely the school, is set apart to prepare children to acquire the powers, mainly the intellectual powers, necessary for eventual adult life. In accordance with cultural tradition, this preparation is to take place within the school, where the child can be kept safely detached from serious adult affairs. Established traditions in our culture are not favorable to the notion of preparing children for adulthood by permitting them to participate increasingly in adult activities.

The same departmentalization sets off the task of making a living from the more inclusive process of living itself. Types of economic activity are so diversified and numerous, and they

²⁸ Miriam Van Waters, "Adolescence," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1930), Vol. I, pp. 458-459.

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change so rapidly, not only in form but in value and social status, that the culture has been unable to develop stable conventions through which the individual can learn to participate in remunerative work as part of his preparation for mature living. Especially in urban industrial communities, most children have no cultural motivation for identifying themselves with their father's vocation, for his work is likely to have no relevance at all to their own future livelihood. It is not surprising, therefore, that many children, particularly in middle-class families, are likely to be only vaguely acquainted with the type of work that their father is doing. Since the family is ineffective in developing the child toward a selected vocation, the school is attempting to relieve the mounting pressure of economic distress by placing more emphasis upon vocational training in the education of the child. But in this regard, too, the school is hampered by cultural traditions, which are not favorable to the conception of integrating vocational training, which teaches the child how to make a living, with general education, which teaches him how to live more fully.

The ambiguous status of the adolescent is shown in the confusion which results from the legal necessity of defining maturity in terms of age. In a culture that marks the passage of time not by the sun and the seasons, but by numbers on a clock and by numbered days in a calendrical system, that determines a man's economic value by the number of monetary units contained in his capital or his income, that places the quantitative sciences among its highest intellectual achievements, it is no accident that a person's level of maturity should be defined by some numerical technique of measuring age. An individual's level of maturity, therefore, is computed by adding the number of months and years that have elapsed since the moment of birth. Despite its neatness and objectivity, such a technique has not resulted in any general agreement as to what constitutes the age at which an individual ceases to be a child and becomes an adult. The numerical definition of maturity has varied at different times, and it varies in different localities. Not long ago a young adolescent in this country could engage in gainful employment. Today, with the more extensive protection of children as well as the increasing

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competition for jobs, the individual's period of economic immaturity is being prolonged. State laws differ considerably in defining the age of economic competence, as well as the age appropriate to owning a driver's license, engaging in marriage, sustaining criminal liability. In one state a seventeen-year-old boy committing a crime is tried in the juvenile court and, if it seems advisable, he may be sent to a reformatory. In a neighboring state a boy of the same age is prosecuted in the criminal court and, if found guilty, he is sent to the penitentiary. In one state, then, he is legally a child; in the next he is a full-grown man.

It is no small wonder, therefore, that the adolescent should be confused and conflicted in trying to gain a sense of his place in the wider culture, for he lives in a culture which is itself inconsistent in defining his status and in a society which fails to provide him with any preparation for increasingly responsible membership. This inconsistency in dealing with maturation is only one aspect of a culture that is heterogeneous and loosely coordinated throughout. Unlike primitive cultures, which tend to borrow neighboring practices slowly enough to assimilate them into a homogeneous pattern, our Western culture has borrowed and cross-borrowed diverse elements from all over the world so rapidly that it has been unable to integrate them into a coherent scheme. The culture, with its old and new borrowings, changes at an uneven rate. Certain elements, such as ideals of conduct, are peculiarly resistant to change and continue as anachronisms in a society where they no longer belong. Other elements, such as industrial techniques and business practices, change so quickly that their new forms are always startling and unexpected.

An individual can ignore such cultural contradictions by learning to pigeonhole the elements properly. Under certain conditions he may extol the virtues of humility, of "turning the other cheek," of cooperativeness; but in the business world he may equally extol the opposite virtues of assertive self-confidence, of aggressiveness, of shrewd competitiveness. In his quest for consistency, however, the adolescent cannot ignore the clashing elements of his culture nor find satisfaction in pigeonholing them. As new facets of the culture come within the scope of his awareness, he is forced to give up many of the cherished notions which

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no longer fit into his emerging conception of the world. A seventeen-year-old girl, discussing the change in her religious ideas, writes:

As I grew older and knew more about people and the things we try to call right and wrong I realized that just because I could conceive of the possibility of a thing, that was no reason why it should be true, and also I couldn't believe that what with things like wars and slums there could possibly be a God.

Not only does the adolescent, in an effort to integrate his cultural experience, constantly change his picture of the world, but he is acutely aware that the culture itself is undergoing rapid changes. His inner readjustments take place in an external world which is also in flux. Standards of conduct have altered so profoundly during the last few decades that, in effect, cultural barriers are set up between one generation and the next. Parents who hold to the standards of their day find themselves aliens within the contemporary culture in which their adolescent children are living. In families which are divided by such cultural differences, the child will be unable to identify himself with his parents and he will encounter difficulties at adolescence in developing mature standards of his own. The adolescent's sense of cultural change, with its attendant confusions, is well expressed by a high-school girl in the following verbatim report of an interview.

"You know you said the world is changing. What impresses you most that is changing in this world?"

"People's customs and their beliefs and morals, not not plainly morals, but I mean things that, well, they're not shocking any longer, but there was a time when they were pretty shocking."

"Well, what for instance?"

"Oh, well, shocking for a woman to run around without stockings or all dressed up in a bathing suit, and the idea of a woman smoking, but it isn't any longer. And I suppose some people still have the idea that—I mean that if my mother wants to say to me that I shouldn't smoke or take a drink because I'm too young, telling me, 'When I was married I never had rouge or anything near my lips'—I mean it's sort of—people do change—I mean I could never say that to my children, I could never say that I didn't smoke until I was married. I mean times have really changed. . . ."

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There can be no doubt that a heterogeneous culture provides its members with resources for abundant living. The individual in a primitive society is not given such richly diversified materials from which to select a way of life. His choices are more narrowly restricted. In our Western culture the individual is offered a wide range of practices and values from which to construct a pattern more distinctive for his own individuality. Amidst the contradictory standards that are offered, however, the discriminative task of finding a satisfying and coherent scheme of values is a difficult one, full of constant strains and conflicts even for the adult. It is a particularly difficult task for the adolescent who is experiencing the first impact of a wider culture with its inconsistent definitions of his maturity and its confusion of standards and practices. But if he can work his way through the problem of relating himself as a person to his wider cultural environment, he will develop toward a way of life abundant in its variety and uniquely appropriate to him as a distinct individual.

EMOTIONAL FACTORS

In describing the forces that impinge upon the maturing person and that in their particular configuration are responsible for individual adolescent behavior, we have so far referred to physiological changes and environmental factors which both make specific demands on the adolescent's adaptive capacity. However, it must not be overlooked that there are internal influences just as potent as external forces that elicit characteristic behavior. Such intra-psychic forces frequently assume for the adolescent an overwhelming power and a concreteness which he can scarcely distinguish from those of the outside world. It is little wonder that during the process of emotional reorganization, during the fusion of affectional and aggressive tendencies with the awakening sex impulse, inner forces play a major rôle in the adolescent's life. To be sure, the reconciliation of internal demands and strivings with reality and its normative demands represents a paramount effort of the maturing person.

While the growing child is undergoing physiological changes and cultural reorientation, his attitude toward maturation in gen-

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eral profoundly influences the way he meets the process of growing up. In anticipation of his new powers and experiences, he observes in others the signs of pubescence; he becomes aware of significant physical changes—growth of beard, change of voice, breast development, genital growth—before he experiences these changes himself. The way in which people near him react to developmental problems inevitably impresses itself upon him. Then the adolescent discovers that his body is capable of new sensations and that his social relationships give rise to new problems. The ways in which he meets these new sensations and social problems, the kinds of attitudes he forms toward growing up are fundamental indicators of his emotional development.

Although such attitudes have their roots in early life experiences, they can be directly observed when they come to the surface during the period of adolescence. As the extreme forms of these attitudes, the individual may either accept or reject maturation and what it involves; he may await the signs of growing up either with confidence or with dread. More often, however, his attitude is unstable and ambivalent, showing swings between the two extremes. Such extremes are well illustrated by the reaction of two girls to their first menstruation. Excerpt from interview: “. . . when Joan began to menstruate her mother said: ‘Oh, dear, she’s growing up.’ But Joan commented: ‘I loved the feeling that I was growing up.’” Excerpt from interview with Mary: “. . . it (menstruation) was a great shock to her when it happened, even though she knew about it. She felt ‘as if the world was coming to an end’ and she ‘almost wanted to die.’” The way pubescent girls meet the problems of personal hygiene is often indicative of the conflicted feelings aroused by the physical symptoms of maturation. Although childhood attitudes have a pervasive influence upon later emotional development, the new types of experience in terms of personal and social living will modify these attitudes in many ways. In the face of maturation unstable and uncertain attitudes toward growing up are rather the rule than the exception.

Attitudes toward the body, feelings of pleasure and displeasure related to its sensations are established at an early age. The individual confronted at pubescence with unprecedented inner

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stimuli and strange bodily sensations will necessarily interpret them on the basis of his previous experiences. Old conflicts with parental restrictions reappear during pubescence, and the sexual character of fantasies and curiosities easily takes on an impelling, frightening force and often an undisguised directness. The remark of Mary, age eighteen, may well serve to illustrate the guilt aroused by sexual interests; she said to the worker, "Parents' assumption that their children do not think about sex made them feel guilty for doing so. And this was very bad, because every child thought about it at one time or another." The feeling of guilt to which Mary refers is a severe obstacle in the adolescent's acceptance of his sex rôle and undermines his feeling of worth as a maturing person. The degree to which he can accept his own feeling life determines to a great extent the success of his social and personal adjustment; it is well known how adolescents are always ready to project their feelings about themselves and to invest other people with their own depreciatory attitude toward themselves.

The feeling of one's worth develops in the child with the security he enjoys in the family and the self-control he attains through firm confidence in a basic acceptance of his person. These experiences finally bring about the formation of conscience as introjected parental control. From then on the child can feel himself liked and disliked, accepted and rejected by his conscience, independent of outside influence. At adolescence when new instinctual drives call for an increased power of control, the conscience reveals its parental origin. Because his conscience reflects parental influence, the adolescent is unable to make full use of it as a support for self-control, and in fact he must reject it in the process of finding new relationships and orientation. It is difficult for the growing boy or girl to face the fact that control, which was first gained with parental help, cannot be secured at adolescence by the same means without repeating and furthering the affectional dependence upon their parents. Recognition of their changed physical status is also prohibitive for continuing the parent-child relationships in the old form. Periods of withdrawal from inner dependencies, representing parental approval and disapproval, result in the proverbial

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feelings of loneliness and self-pity which are so frequently expressed in adolescent writings. A girl, age fifteen, writes:

And so goes the day, the year, your life, no more outstanding than any one star in the Milky Way. All in all, are you so different from millions of other girls in the world? Each of us thinks, but none knows another's most intimate thoughts. How, then, can we compare? Our lives are normal, opinions borrowed, ambitions unformed, and destiny a question. And, always, you walk alone.

In the search for new contacts in life the adolescent is unavoidably led to give up his most cherished securities, which up to this time have never been questioned. One boy in his senior year, at the age of seventeen, described the slowly emerging awareness of being a separate individual within the family, of detaching himself from the symbiotic life of childhood.

My sixth-grade year and what went before it now seems quite distant, but from the ninth grade on it all appears quite recent. This is partly due to the fact that the last six years have been spent in the same place but I believe it is more due to the change that came over me then: until that time I had never thought of myself as changing—as growing from a child to a man—in fact I looked at the world as divided into two irreconcilable halves: grown-ups and children, and now, slowly, this was giving way to a new conception of a purposeful life in which school played the part of leading from childhood into that mysterious land of grown-ups. It was a slow change and in the course of it many surprising things happened. I had always looked at my parents somewhat as the old Greeks looked at their gods—as sometimes bringing about unpleasant events but always as indisputable powers who were right—well—because they naturally were; this now changed; I realized that they also might be wrong and that they didn't know everything but also had opinions and even differences of opinions. Another surprise was the first time I had any intellectual companionship with a teacher. . . .

In the emotional transition that normally occurs during adolescence parental control becomes scuttled by rebellion and withdrawal, new identifications are built up and blended with their original parental forms, and the adolescent becomes outwardly more conforming and simultaneously develops an inner life which is more distinctly his own. This transition is condensed in the

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short paragraph written by a fifteen-year-old girl, who shows a transition that is less smooth but just as characteristic as that of the boy quoted above.

You hate them for what they do; you love them for what they stand. People! Acquaintances, relatives, friends, girls, boys, grown-ups—anyone but yourself. You might as well admit it; your friends number few—none, almost. Acquaintances, yes, but they are only surface impressions; what you actually want is a second you: one who respects your moods and understands shortcomings. Or *do* you really want someone like that? The trouble is, you *don't* know. To be like everyone else, perhaps—but that would be common, ordinary. Not especially liking yourself for being different, you have to make the most of it because you don't know how to be anything else.

Children who are especially attached to their parents, dependent on their protection and control, are likely to look at their maturation as a threat to their security. They experience a fear which may at times assume an overwhelming intensity. Paul, expressing his fears of maturation in dramatic intellectual symbols, said to the worker during an interview: "You see, everything is speeded up. We've made great progress in a few years—physical progress, I mean—new buildings, new inventions in science. The question, of course, is whether we haven't speeded up so that now we've invented war machines, we may destroy ourselves with our own inventions." By intellectualizing a personal problem, Paul was able to deal with an imminent threat and to find some measure of relief in handling it in a disguised form. Since the rapid physical growth of the adolescent is accompanied by a certain degree of emotional instability, it is evident that he must often take refuge in drastic measures as Paul does to protect his individual integrity and to adjust himself to constantly altering circumstances. Such reactive behavior, which will be discussed at greater length in the following section, is a common and necessary manifestation of the transitional period of adolescence.

3. Typical Adolescent Behavior in Response to Strain

Though adolescence cannot be defined with reference to a precise age level, it can be described in terms of characteristic behavior. As it passes through successive phases of development, this behavior is manifested in rapidly shifting and unstable patterns. During the pre-adolescent phase the child seems to be losing ground, much to the discomfort of the adults in his environment. At eleven or twelve he ceases, with dismaying suddenness, to be a reasonably responsible and compliant child. He now becomes more restless and unstable, less responsible, less obedient, often openly hostile to the adults he loves best. His carefully trained habits of order and cleanliness are lost. He is careless in his personal appearance, his language, his work, even, if he is a boy, deliberately dirty and greedy. Girls tend to be more careful of appearances and often skip the sloppy stage entirely. All pre-adolescents profess a strong preference for members of their own sex and either indifference or hostility to the opposite sex, but this again is a more marked and prolonged reaction in boys than in girls.

Nervous habits, such as nail-biting, often reappear at this time. Adult standards and appeals seem to have little claim upon the pre-adolescent, but he is almost slavish in his dependence on the approval of his gang and highly secretive about its affairs. Strange superstitions and rites are quite common. For the most part he is withdrawn and protective against adult intrusion, though occasionally he breaks out with violent bursts of confidence. He is amazingly babyish and irresponsible in many ways, yet he demands the freedom and privileges of an adult, seeming to prefer their vices to their virtues.

At the same time he is increasingly difficult to teach by the traditional methods. His wavering attention is difficult to enlist

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for concentrated work. His creative powers seem to wane. Much of his energy goes into fantasies, and anything serves to distract him. His interest in abstractions is at a low ebb, for he enjoys a concrete type of manipulation and is intrigued by mechanical gadgets of all sorts. He is at war with time, never beginning anything soon enough; but he utterly refuses to accept adult help in planning, just as he resents adult interference in any of his activities.²⁴

At about fourteen or fifteen, sometimes sooner or later, the pattern seems to shift. The child is still an unstable, moody, and rather unpredictable person—battling with adult authority and with himself—overanxious, self-conscious, and overconfident by turns, apparently sophisticated but frequently only on the verbal level, desperately wanting help and guidance but often quite unable to ask for it or to accept it from those he likes best. Yet in many ways he is much more grown up than he was and much easier to teach. By this time his interest in the opposite sex is ordinarily open and frankly expressed. He is as meticulous about appearance and manners as he was careless a few years before; he is clean and more orderly again and considerably more responsible; his creative powers reach a high point, often, in fact, they reach their highest level at this age, and the adolescent seems to give promise of a genius which never materializes; his intellectual interests increase both in scope and depth, and he throws himself into work with new vigor and direction. He still has problems and difficulties of various kinds; he still lapses into a life of introspection or pure fantasy at times, and uses the most childish patterns of problem-solving at others—bragging, swaggering, sulking, storming, lying, weeping, exaggerating his bodily ills. But much of the time he is making an attempt to face and meet his problems and those of the world on a more mature level. He is greedy for information about the ways of the world and about the intricacies of human relationships; he is consciously reevaluating his own standards and ideals.

This is a period of deep confidence and intense emotional friend-

²⁴ Grateful acknowledgement is made to Dr. Fritz Redl, who has generously shared with me his unpublished material dealing with the pre-adolescent level. (P.B.)

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ships, often between two members of the same sex, of hero worship, idealism, and devotion. Usually the adolescent at this stage seeks an adult to copy, some older man or woman on whom to model his character and behavior, usually someone outside his own family and frequently very unlike his parents in standards and ideas. Through all this he remains a very baffling person, swinging rapidly from independence to dependence and back, fearful one day and overconfident the next, moody, oversensitive, never quite sure what he wants and apparently wanting quite opposite and irreconcilable things.

Not every adolescent will show all of these traits, but the picture is typical enough to indicate the main outlines of adolescent behavior. They are the adolescent's characteristic ways of responding to the various forces—physiological, cultural, and emotional—which operate upon him. Because behavior at this period is typically unstable and wavering and inconsistent, its significance for the individual's development is not immediately apparent. Nevertheless it has a purpose and directedness which can be ascertained by examining the underlying processes, the processes which give rise to these overt manifestations at adolescence.

PURPOSE AND DIRECTEDNESS IN ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOR

In order to deal consciously with the situations that confront him, the individual necessarily draws on conventional mediums of expression. He must externalize his strivings in forms provided by society. These forms are the common coin by which human beings in any society can exchange mutual understandings and carry on their relationships to one another. A metropolitan adolescent boy could not give expression to his maturity by the hunting and communal rituals appropriate to the Indian boy of the Plains; each would make use of the kinds of performances and interests that carry the prestige of grown-upness in his own environment.

In addition to its social conditioning, behavior also has its highly personal reference. It is the overt response of the personality attempting to reconcile and integrate the forces acting upon

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it. An item of behavior is not merely to be considered as an individual's response in a social frame of reference but also as part of his unique pattern of behavior, molded through the cumulative experience of his life history. The case material has shown again and again that only by reinstating a piece of behavior in the individual's total life can its specific meaning and the motivating power which prompted it be revealed. Behavior, then, has both an overt conformative aspect and a latent personal aspect.

As the individual responds to the forces outside and within himself his behavior carries an implicit purpose. The array of forces that impinge on the individual are constantly pulling him this way and that, introducing minor discomforts or major dislocations and threatening to disturb whatever equilibrium he has already achieved. The response with which he meets situations has the purpose of removing the imminent disturbances and tensions. Expressed positively, the immediate purpose of any response is to preserve or restore a state of balance. On an organic level this adjustive purpose is fulfilled by the neuro-muscular responses of the human body. Under conditions of excessive temperature, for example, the body's regulative apparatus helps to keep the internal heat at or near the temperature best adapted for the continued smooth operation of the organism. Complex behavior does not take place as automatically, nor does it achieve such a clear-cut resolution of the disturbing forces; but it fulfills the same purpose. In order to attain a state of equilibrium in response to complex influences, the individual may change either his environment or his inner life. An adolescent boy who feels lonely can either seek company, or he can substitute imagination for reality by talking to himself in a diary, by withdrawing into an exclusive interest of his own, or by constructing a fantasy world which makes him independent of other people. In either case, the purpose of his behavior is to remove the discomfort of loneliness.

Besides its primary purpose of avoiding unpleasant tensions and of achieving balance, behavior has an inherent directedness during the period of adolescence. Reactions at this time are channeled in the direction of certain goals, determined by the unavoidable changes that the adolescent undergoes in physical maturation and in his social and emotional development. It is

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obvious that the lonely adolescent, at his stage of physical maturity, cannot return to his mother's coddling and fondling without the most serious injury to his social and emotional status. This, of course, will not prevent his day-dreaming about it. In speaking of her mother, Betty showed the trend of her day dreams by saying, ". . . when I was a little girl I thought she ought to tuck me in bed. Other children's mothers tucked them in bed, but I guess Mother didn't think it was important." Such day dreams, however, will never serve as an adequate solution of the need to give and receive affection. For the developing adolescent they are temporary devices, whose purpose is to relieve discomfort for a time. A thorough reorganization of his emotional life is essential for the attainment of maturity.

The direction of adolescent development can be most succinctly described in terms of three goals, representing the three-fold task that the adolescent must accomplish in order to move onward toward maturity. Foremost among them is the emancipation from the family. In accordance with his sexual development, the adolescent must be able to free himself from his childhood dependency upon parents and other intimate persons in the home and to reorient his relationships within a wider social framework. A part of the affection that he formerly directed toward his parents must now be redirected toward people outside the family. The way in which the adolescent meets this task is strongly influenced by his childhood experiences of socialization within the family.²⁵

The attainment of sexual maturity also demands that the individual discover and assume an appropriate rôle in relation to the opposite sex and to his own as well. The acceptance of the sex rôle and the establishment of a code of ethics and expectancies is a second pervasive task which can be studied in action throughout the case histories.

Finally, the achievement of economic independence—at least for the boy—is a requisite for emotional maturity. Even among adolescents whose economic needs are not urgent, it has been

²⁵ A detailed discussion of family influences will be taken up in the following section, "The influence of early experiences upon adolescent adjustment," pp. 309 ff.

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found that a concern over economic status is nevertheless present. The ability to provide for oneself as well as for a family is one sign of grown-upness which admits the person into the ranks of adults. Economic independence allows the freedom of movement and privacy which the child is denied and for which the adolescent strives. If he wishes to become a recognized member of society, vocational and social identifications must be formed, and self-direction must be progressively developed in terms of an economic goal.

These three tasks do not exist as external demands nor as separate entities. They represent the directive components positively or negatively discernible in adolescent behavior: positively, if the individual proceeds toward maturity; negatively, if he fails to reorient himself in terms of the new goals. From examining many cases of adolescent boys and girls, the three tasks have been formulated as a focal point of reference. To these objectives the adolescent relates his adaptive responses, prompted by the many forces which challenge his life. According to individual circumstances, he may emphasize one or another of the three tasks. But they are essentially interrelated, closely bound up with the attainment of physical maturity and to a large extent dependent upon it. The adolescent's development in these three directions must proceed simultaneously: without orienting his life distinctly toward economic independence, he cannot successfully emancipate himself from the family; without freeing himself of intimate family attachments, he cannot assume a mature sex rôle toward persons outside the family.

Periods of intensive physical growth, whether in infancy or adolescence, are times of rapid emotional growth as well. Because of the stresses and strains accompanying rapid changes, these are hazardous periods of the growth process. To cope with them the child normally develops types of reactive behavior that are protective in nature; he arms himself with behavior that diminishes the painfulness of outer and inner stimuli. Sleep, play, day-dreaming represent behavior of this type. Protective reactions are an essential weapon of the personality during periods of increasing strain, for they deaden the individual's face-to-face awareness of his difficulties and yet allow him to assume an active rôle in their

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resolution. To illustrate, Paul's discussions about the universe, about death and the after-life, helped him to disguise his conflicts effectively. Through this philosophical justification he could handle his conflicts without any immediate awareness of their personal nature.

This example lends itself to the demonstration of another quality inherent in adolescent behavior—its experimental character. When Paul is engaged in "hot discussions," he tries out his intellectual powers of argumentation, logic, and factual information: he explores the field in which he can find a satisfactory experience. Though he still invests his discussions with obvious personal problems in a disguised form, he experiments with a power that in his case will prove to be of the utmost importance for his later life. Through such exploratory behavior, the adolescent becomes acquainted with an array of powers potentially at his disposal. Adolescent experimentation, however, is not restricted to the intellectual field, though the academic pressure of the school frequently encourages experimentation to take this particular form. It also reveals itself in the adolescent's exploration of various non-intellectual interests and hobbies, of relationships to other people, of aspirations and appreciations.

In any phase of growth in which the individual is experimenting with new powers and capacities, his behavior is apt to be extremely unstable. It shifts from violent intensity to weak indifference, from overdoing to underdoing. In the period of infancy, when such new faculties as grasping and creeping develop, the movements at first lack coördination and show a tendency toward overdoing or underdoing. Adolescent behavior displays this characteristic of rapid growth, with its abrupt swings from one extreme to another, on a higher level of development. To be sure, physical incoördination and clumsiness are also frequently apparent. But the adolescent has at his disposal a highly organized and differentiated emotional life with which to translate his accelerated physical growth into a variety of meaningful activities. Through his behavior, experimental as well as protective, he slowly acquires the faculty of concentrating, organizing, and managing his new powers in terms of mature control. It is obvious that without proper experimentation the attainment of control is im-

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peded or delayed. During this process of gaining control, the adolescent's behavior reflects the instability of his emotional life. He shifts from hostile to loving attitudes, from determined independence to fearful retreat toward the comforting status of childhood. Accelerations, stand-stills, and retardations are, therefore, the common signs and correlates of his total development.

In the adolescent's reaction to a specific situation, these typical characteristics of his behavior are interwoven in a dynamic pattern. Betty's preference for swing music, her indifference to being taken to concerts by her parents, and her general deviation from the family standards of appreciation and value will serve as an illustration. From a knowledge of the past and present of many circumstances in Betty's life, it is clear that by adopting the values of other families she avoided the hazards of competition and failure in her own. At the same time she could express resentment toward her mother, just as she did in childhood when she ate with her fingers and told the reproving guests, "These are the manners my mother taught me. If they are good enough for her, they are good enough for you." Because she felt physically inferior as a result of her mole, because she was unable to accept her feminine rôle without conflict, she was driven to construct fantasies and to display a type of overt behavior characteristic of the popular sophisticated girls among her classmates.

In terms of the goals of adolescent development, Betty tried to leave the family and establish independent values and appreciations on the basis of extra-familial identifications. The purposive quality of her behavior is represented by the disguised expression of resentment toward her family, a motivating quality which endowed her taste with stubbornness. Characteristically, Betty fought her family on the grounds of prestige values, for she believed that she had failed to satisfy family expectations in which she was generally compared to Frank. Swing music, then, in contrast to classical music, represented a value opposed to that held dear by the parents, especially by the mother. Swing music, as well as cheap literature, assumed a substitute or symbolic quality for Betty.

The element of overt conformity in Betty's behavior lay in the fact that swing music is a form of entertainment admittedly ac-

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cepted and liked by many adults and contemporaries. Anybody listening to it is no deviate from the norm, neither is he revealing a personal conflict. Betty's refusal to accompany the family to a concert or to share the classical radio music with them, her emotional involvement in swing music with its latent personal meaning was a part of her inner life, of which not even she herself was clearly aware. In removing the sphere of conflict from a purely family affair to an esthetic issue, she managed to provide her behavior with a protective disguise. Simultaneously, by trying out the standards of other people, she evaluated the standards of her own family and was thus given an opportunity to experiment with new guiding principles in her life.

The central process in Betty's behavior was the acting out of a family conflict in a substitute situation, in the realm of appreciations and values. In her case, as in all cases of individual adolescents, the specific content of this process was dependent upon environmental influences, past experiences, individual capacities, and a host of other variables belonging to the distinctive circumstances of her life. Regardless of its individual content, however, Betty's behavior represents a type of reactive process which is universally employed by adolescents. The following pages will take up in detail the common reactive processes with which adolescents meet the strains and conflicts imposed upon them as they undergo changes in their physiological, cultural, and emotional status.

TYPES OF REACTIVE BEHAVIOR IN ADOLESCENCE

Any living creature subject to uncomfortable strain from within or without will seek, by whatever means possible, to relieve it. If the forces arrayed against him seem too strong to permit direct attack, then retreat or flight is inevitable. A return to methods of achieving relief and satisfaction that proved comforting in an earlier phase of development is an almost inevitable yet temporary response of the growing child.

This, indeed, seems to be just what occurs in the life of the child when he first faces the conflicts and strains of adolescence. The break-down of good habits, the return to dirt, disorder, and

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greediness, the resumption of neurotic fears and nervous habits, of restlessness and instability, the renewed interest in concrete manipulation as opposed to creative activities that call for emotional expression—these and other seemingly inexplicable manifestations of the pre-adolescent period are understandable enough if we see them as an attempt to relieve strain by retreating to infantile ways of gratification. It seems as if the inhibitory and regulative barriers which were adequate for control during the preceding years of elementary school fail to withstand the sudden invasion of instinctual powers, which marks pre-adolescence, the initial phase of the adolescent period. Many solid achievements in training and education seem suddenly to disintegrate and give way to forms of behavior which in their quality are related to early childhood. Temper tantrums, day dreams, bragging, swaggering, sulking and weeping, lying, cheating—these are the reactions of the small child faced by powers too strong for him, and these are the defenses to which he returns when the strains of adolescence are more than he can face. As temporary reactions they are usual and entirely to be expected at this time. Many types of behavior which would be considered dangerously neurotic during adulthood or middle childhood must be viewed as normal during the pre-adolescent period.

Though it is a universal process at pre-adolescence, the return to early childhood satisfactions is manifested in characteristic forms that differentiate boys from girls. Whereas boys show a disintegration of established inhibitions through their aggressive and destructive behavior as well as their great disregard for cultural and social refinement, girls are likely to live through this period less dramatically. They often display lady-like manners; but they are nonetheless touchy and easily hurt, and the breakdown of their established conduct reveals itself in one form or another. Betty during her pre-adolescent years, at the age of thirteen, was characterized by her adviser as follows: "She is perfectly well mannered at school, but atrocious stories of her behavior on the bus, her loudness and vulgarity have been reported. Teachers are not recognized by her . . . if they are met on the street. . . . She is nervous and bites her nails. . . ." Such behavior is frequently oscillating in nature. This type of fluctuation

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was described by a teacher in referring to an eleven-year-old girl: "... at times she is precocious, at times babyish, slangy and shallow at others." In the same year another teacher reported of the same girl, deploring the regression in her development: "... she is acting like a very small child in her talk, in her carriage, her walk, and in every respect. . . ." ²⁶ These tendencies are not confined to the early adolescent age, for they are also found among older adolescents whose emotional development proceeds at a slow pace. At the age of seventeen, Mabel indicated in an interview that her learning difficulties were largely the result of her yearning for infantile securities.

Mabel's present problem in school is a tremendous difficulty she encounters in concentrating. She reads a page over and over again. "My eyes get it but not my brain."

Worker asks if she has any ideas about what might help her.

"Yes—what I really want is someone to read the thing to me. I get it better through the ears. I guess I want a governess. I must be going backward."

Worker says that there are times when we want to be helped.

"I guess what I want is to be treated like a two-year-old."

Even more distinctly than in their behavior, adolescents reveal in their fantasy life the regressive tendency which they often hesitate to express overtly and directly. The case of Betty illustrates this point very clearly; in disclosing her fantasies to the inter-

²⁶ "Very much more valuable for the diagnosis of personality by external signs are the posturing and characteristic movements of the individual. One of the greatest of all students of physiognomy, Mantegazza, himself states that we learn much more for interpretation of personality from studying body attitudes, the play of the facial muscles, the gestures and postures, than we ever can through studying the features. Others agree with this, and Kempf in particular states that the general postural tonus of the muscles of the body and of the limbs and extremities, the style of the walk, the handshake, and voice sounds reveal the characteristic affective tensions and wishes more than what is said or done. The part that lip tensions play in exhibiting mental attitudes, and even mental conflicts, is enormous in the opinion of several writers. Indeed, the signs of many emotional states are recognizable on sight and cannot be concealed from the trained observer. . . . The philosopher, Emerson, said 'Wise men read very sharply all your private history in your look and gait and behavior.'" William Healy, *Personality in Formation and Action* (New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1938), pp. 133-134.

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viewer, she showed how elaborately she was able to dramatize an infantile emotional conflict in the form of fantasy.²⁷ The way in which she manipulates sex differences, changing herself into a girl like Jane or into a girl who disguised her sex by dressing like a boy, is characteristic of an early level of fantasy life. It reveals her unsettled and wavering attitude toward sex differentiation, an attitude very much like that of small children. The day dreams of older adolescents are usually different in content: they more often indulge in wishful thinking about concrete situations, such as being successful at parties, being famous, leaving home, getting a job, meeting a certain person, or quarreling and fighting with people who hurt their feelings. Betty's social behavior and her unique preoccupation with her appearance are but correlates to her level of fantasy life: her inability to accept herself, her ambivalence toward the feminine rôle account for her failure to meet the social standards of her group.

The tendency to overeat, which is not at all infrequent among adolescents of any age, can also be regarded in many cases as a manifestation of regressive behavior. The security provided by excessive eating offers a means of satisfaction—in times of loneliness and uneasiness—which is doubtlessly infantile in character. Since the character of this indulgence is often vaguely realized by the adolescent himself, he is easily led to feel guilty about it; and if overeating has an effect on his body build, it aggravates the problem further. One boy is reported who at adolescence developed a craving for milk. He could drink several quarts a day, and he fell into angry fits if he discovered, at any time during the day or night, that no milk had been left for him. The milk regularly offered at meal time was often rejected and not touched; he preferred to go and get it at odd times. The following passage from a letter will further illustrate in the words of an adolescent girl how overpowering the craving for food may be:

²⁷ Betty's great difficulty in finding adequate means for establishing herself satisfactorily on a more mature level led her to cling to infantile types of magical thinking. This persistence of early patterns occurs more frequently than might be expected at first glance. It must be understood that recurrences of regressive behavior are apt to appear at any time that the adolescent is confronted with disappointment, failure, self-doubt, or other painful experiences.

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I just finished reading *Of Human Bondage* and it left me disturbed. Do people really love so violently? and what exactly is the nature of impulses which can overpower reason to such an extent? Why are these impulses so strong? Is it true that only in very few people reason rules daily activities and the rest of us are just pawns juggled by instincts? I am really beginning to believe this, unfortunately. My old malady is back—my unquenchable desire for food. The very thought disgusts me. Night after night I resolve to go on a diet, yet the idea of food obsesses me and I seem to be absolutely powerless to combat it. God knows I never condone it, there is never any enjoyment in it. What is even more incredible is that I am not even hungry when I gorge myself. The idea of a tempting dish presents itself and I'll go to any length to get it even if I have just eaten a huge meal. Many times I have thought of suicide. Not seriously, of course, but the thought of myself becomes so repulsive to me that I could scream. My mother is unaware, of course, of my condition. She could never understand and I would rather not tell her about it.

Periods of overeating may be followed by periods with lack of appetite. Sometimes the persistent lack of appetite is a sign of the special significance which food acquires for certain adolescents, and as an ascetic trend it is quite characteristic of adolescent behavior.²⁸

The shift in patterns that occurs as the child proceeds from the pre-adolescent stage to adolescence proper is a shift from regression to a more direct attack on the problems and tasks of growing up, a more conscious striving toward the goals of maturity. But at times when the odds seem too great many an adolescent will slip back into childish methods, and it is not surprising to find this type of behavior recurring sporadically throughout the adolescent period—and, in fact, present to some degree in the lives of adults as well.

As physical maturation progresses, a new directive, goal-seeking quality becomes discernible in adolescent behavior. The individ-

²⁸ It is true, of course, that food fads and greediness generally develop during periods of rapid physical growth. These physiological changes, however, may give rise to compulsive food habits and other emotional reactions which merit special consideration. "Rapid growth is likely to cause either a tremendous increase in the child's appetite, or, particularly in the girl, a tendency to finickiness with loss of appetite at some times and strong, special cravings—as, for example, for particularly sweet or sour dishes—at other times." Douglas A. Thom, *Normal Youth and Its Everyday Problems* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935), p. 16.

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ual tends to employ psychological processes which help him to advance toward maturity, processes which are more adequate than regression as a means of coping with conflict situations. The simplest response to a conflict situation which cannot be faced directly is the reaction of disregarding its threatening implications. The swaggering bravado so typical of the adolescent age is a thin disguise for self-doubt, inadequacy, or fear. Those who are afraid and cannot admit it must have recourse to some pretense, designed as much to convince themselves as others. This denial can sometimes take on extreme forms, as is illustrated by Louise, a sixteen-year-old girl, who was overweight, unpopular, but refused to recognize her shortcomings. In fact, she did everything to make herself less attractive. The concern over her physical condition was so great that she related any criticism to this one problem and therefore reacted out of all proportion to the suggestions of her friends.

At one point of the interview Louise said that once when she had gone to visit Rose, who lived in the midtown section of the city, Rose suggested that she learn to wear hats. "I never wear a hat!" Louise stormed, "and I just flew off the handle then. I certainly lost my temper! I guess Rose learned her lesson then, because she has never given me any advice since."

Worker asked Louise what kind of advice people give her that she finds especially irksome.

"They're always telling me that I ought to get thin. Why, a couple of weeks ago I met a lady for the first time and ten minutes after she met me she told me I'd look better thin. I don't care if I would. I don't want to stop eating!" Actually she gave the impression of very much wanting to reduce but of regarding this as a lost battle. People, especially her family, comment unfavorably about her clothes.

"This is what I wear all the time," Louise said, pointing to her white shirt and dark red wool skirt. "It's comfortable," she fairly barked, and continued, "that's all that matters."

In the same way a great show of sophistication in adolescence is no indication that the child knows everything nor even that he believes he knows everything. It is more likely to be a bluff to conceal his ignorance from his fellows, for he would be ashamed to admit his curiosity to himself and to the adults whose disapproval he fears. Those who feel content with the sex knowl-

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edge they possess or those who are free to seek more have little need to parade their sophistication. Unless the desired knowledge is supplied and the assurance given that curiosity is normal and healthy there is little that can be achieved in alleviating the conflict.

It is easy, also, to misinterpret the withdrawal and secrecy of the adolescent as implying that he has attained a comfortable self-sufficiency and feels no further need of adult help. Some adolescent secrecy is, of course, simply self-protection from adult interference, for boys and girls make their first ventures into independence and try out new standards and activities which they feel will not be approved or permitted. This sort of secrecy is merely the cloak for disobedience and rebellion when open defiance would prove too uncomfortable. Frequently it involves not only the clam-like uncommunicativeness which adults find so baffling, but also deliberate lying and deceit in youngsters who have previously been honest and who will be so again. One often hears adolescents discussing what they "have to do to keep their parents happy," which in their language refers to the tactics by means of which adult demands can be sidestepped without too much friction.

But sometimes the secrecy is more significant, revealing a deep sense of guilt or inferiority and a profound need for help that the child is afraid to express. Feeling himself unworthy—sometimes because of sex interests, sex practices, or sex fears, sometimes because of unpopularity, or school failure, or the new and painful struggle with his parents—he hesitates to reveal himself, fearing to lose adult love and respect. This type of withdrawal, which expresses itself in moody introspection and touchiness, in unhappiness and lack of sociability with old and young alike, is a distress signal, denoting not self-sufficiency, but quite the reverse. A girl of fourteen living through this stage was described by her teacher as "unapproachable, aloof, reserved and indifferent"; the records note that "her indifferent manner often covers a real self-consciousness and sense of inadequacy. Her attitude of caution is equally noticeable when dealing with adults or peers." A child cannot be forced out of his phase, no matter how fully the need for help is recognized. It is sometimes possible to reassure him indirectly

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if somehow he can be convinced the people about him have a basic tolerance and a genuine acceptance of the naturalness of much that he fears within himself.

The character of reality which at times pervades fantasy life accounts for the frequently expressed feeling of depersonalization, and gives rise to the proverbial symptoms of moodiness. The wide swings of mood which take place so frequently without apparent reason seldom fail to include suicidal fantasies. Some quotations from case material will serve to illustrate these aspects of adolescent feeling life in which the individual responds with fluctuating moods to the circumstantial character of fantasy and the dream-like quality of actual living. Referring to an incident she had just described to the worker, Betty said, "Well, I think it happened, but every other minute I don't think it happened . . . when you do something and then maybe a year or so later, or a week or so later, you are doing something and in some way you think you're doing exactly the same thing again." Betty also remembered many things which, according to her family, had never happened. Paul also expressed the feeling of repetition and futility in his poem:

As life goes on, as life goes on
We sense a dull monotony;
We sense a dull monotony
As life, as life goes on.

Ida, at the age of fourteen, expressed the same discouragement in speaking to her mother: "Life is not worth living, getting up early in the morning, going to school, and then coming back and having homework to do."

A representative example of a suicidal fantasy²⁹ is taken from an autobiography of a sixteen-year-old boy, who wrote of a camp experience occurring when he was a few years younger.

Although swimming in the river was forbidden I went in, and floating in the warm water I began questioning how genuine my camp friendships were, what chance there really was for me to become a great person and so on until I had almost decided to drown myself. I thought

²⁹ Compare also the letter quoted on p. 283.

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through the funeral, the moving speech the minister would make, and other happy prospects.

Paul's preoccupation with the self-destruction of mankind may well be recalled at this point: ". . . we may destroy ourselves with our own inventions." In a poetic form Betty described how the swings in her moodiness were related to inner emotional conflicts. The passage in her poem reads:³⁰

And I saw the sky and the sky was filled with its cold, hard stars
And my heart was filled with contempt for life.
So I asked the night to talk to me of greater, newer things than love,
And the stars glowed, and the moon shone, but the night was filled
with inquietude.

The feeling of not being oneself, of acting like a different, strange, often despised person, is part of the disintegrative process that occurs with varying degrees of intensity. The individual is not yet able to accept his personality with its distinct assets and liabilities. Leaving the office of the worker, Helen, age fifteen, said in an apologetic manner, "I seem to be very pessimistic today. I'm a pessimist about everything. I'm not always that way. It's just the way I happen to feel today. *I hope you don't think it's me.*" (Italics mine.)

Betty demonstrated how the device of withdrawal can be usefully introduced: she employed it whenever she became painfully self-conscious and aware of failure in her heterosexual adjustment. She finally made a resolution with Jane not to go out with boys for two years. By withdrawing from the scene of conflict, she spared herself the unpleasant experience of defeat. Another girl of Betty's age, timid and discouraged in her heterosexual adjustment, tried herself out in entirely imaginary situations; such a reaction, if persistent, may result in a permanent flight from satisfactory social relationships. She gave an account of her experience in the following passage of her autobiography:

In the ninth grade I developed my first "crush." It was very violent and I never told anyone about it. All the other girls were talking about their boy friends and "crushes" and they sounded so silly to me that

³⁰ For a discussion of this poem, see pp. 53-54.

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I felt dreadfully embarrassed for them, but mine, I fondly thought, was entirely different and not to be talked about. It was sort of a double affair concerning two boys who were in my imagination, inseparably linked. They were in the twelfth grade then and came to my attention because of their excellence in athletics and immediately became my heroes. I adoringly attended every football, basketball and baseball game, and every track meet and was thrilled every time I happened to meet one of them in the hall. It was all imaginary. I never once considered speaking to either of them and I realized even at the time, that I would be utterly confounded if they ever noticed me but nevertheless they made excellent heroes for my stories where I was always the lovely heroine. This crush continued all through the tenth grade although I never saw them after the summer they had graduated, but then suddenly in the summer I got tired of them and got some new heroes that I could begin a brand new set of stories with. It was never a person again, except in a mild sort of way, and lasted a day or so, but usually it was a character in a book or a movie and often purely imaginary.³¹

Another girl of this age, similarly discouraged by the difficulties of her heterosexual adjustment, said wishfully, "I'd like to get *one* interest like teaching or studying which would interest me so much it would shut off everything else—even friends." Just as the individual can run away physically from a threatening situation, he can run away emotionally, escaping into the world of fantasy. Here temporarily he is successful, beloved, dominant, all his inadequacies and doubts are lost, all the stories have a happy ending and he is inevitably the hero. Of course he cannot go on escaping from his problems in this way forever, and there would be cause enough for concern if this were his predominant reaction. But

³¹ The experimental and protective character of such imaginary relationships is quite evident; however, it should be realized that they are in a sense more "real" to the adolescent than they possibly can be to the mature adult. "The adolescent seeks the story which treats of love and passion because of unsatisfied curiosity and the stimulation of erotic feelings which may be obtained from the reading. The boy or girl, absorbed in scenes describing physical contacts between lovers, reacts with body sensations of pleasurable nature. Or if the tale is one of high romance, in which the physical side of love plays an attenuated role, it offers a phantasy outlet for sublimations of sex impulses. In both kinds of love story, through identification with the hero or heroine, the adolescent is able to reach outside the limitations of personal inexperience and to share the feelings and emotions of maturity." Ernest R. Groves and Phyllis Blanchard, *Introduction to Mental Hygiene* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1930), p. 346.

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within reasonable limits and as temporary relief, fantasy is a healthy safety-device, and the day-dreaming of adolescents serves an important function in easing strains that would bring him in open conflict with reality. Adults are ordinarily too readily alarmed at the unhealthy possibilities of this typical adolescent behavior, failing to credit its positive values or to capitalize upon its educational possibilities.

Over periods of time day dreams and fantasies serve as imaginary gratifications which, if channeled and translated into artistic expression, become important experiences to restore self-confidence and poise. Withdrawal may be more than a merely negative reaction, an escape; it can bring forth additional responses of a positive character. In Paul withdrawal gave expression to unusual qualities and achievements in intellectual fields. They will, perhaps, ultimately furnish the basis for his unique participation in group life. The great interest of adolescents in introspective preoccupations, expressed in diaries, poetry writing, and the like, bears witness to the fact that such behavior can be considered a common form of response. Almost any activity can provide the individual with an opportunity for introspection and withdrawal. A girl in her junior year, when asked about her interest in mathematics, gave the following reason for her enjoyment of the subject. ". . . it is some work where you're not dependent on people—something where I can be alone and far away."

Another device, that of temporary compulsive habit formation, is frequently used to avoid anxiety: it is manifested in over-meticulousness, orderliness, keeping belongings strictly in assigned places, doing things at certain times and keeping an unwritten schedule about free time. Such habits normally fade with the decline of adolescent strain, and they may be partly built into the character as potential assets. The security derived from such self-imposed regimentation is well described by a fifteen-year-old girl who said, "I like the present scheme of things. I like things the way they are. I like the way I always know what I'm doing and what I'm going to do." She has her time scheduled to the split second. "I know when I go home that I will spend fifteen minutes at the piano, ten minutes talking, and twenty minutes studying Latin." "No," she doesn't write this schedule down, she keeps it

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in her mind. The habit of collecting (stamps, stones, fossils, flowers, postcards, marbles, matchfolders, etc.), which so frequently arises in early adolescence and disappears at a later time without ever developing into a mature interest, may well be based upon the feeling of security and mastery that results from systematization and accumulation.

Along with these activities there are many magical habits that develop at the pre-adolescent age and that parallel the fantasy life. The avoidance habits—taking care to step over cracks and lines on the sidewalk, for example, the belief in charms and superstitions—are at their height at this age. The pre-adolescent's intellectual activity, then, includes some primitive forms of magical thinking. Simultaneously, a keen interest is awakened in realistic and concrete learning as well as in construction and manipulation; there is naturally a palpable unconcern and lack of comprehension for wider abstract, cultural or social problems. These habits and forms of magic are usually hidden among the seemingly insignificant details and routines of daily living; they can be discerned only if attention is focused on them.

It has been generally observed that intellectual powers during adolescence proper often acquire an unusual quality and depth. This manifests itself in abstract thinking as well as in problem-solving, in learning capacity and intellectual ingenuity. Because of the high premium that school as well as society places on such achievements, intellectual processes take on a peculiar significance during adolescent development. It is well known that many an adolescent genius becomes an average person in later life and that his unusual intellectual achievements decline with the passing of this developmental phase. The case of Paul has demonstrated how high-pitched intellectual activity is employed to manipulate emotional problems. This reaction is well illustrated by the following excerpt from an interview record, describing the comments of a sixteen-year-old girl: “. . . student thinks in adolescence you stop taking things for granted. You see the inevitability of war, changes of government in the United States—for instance, Communism—and you realize that things may change for you. She continued, saying that your government might change and conditions might *‘take away people I’m used to being with.’*” (Italics mine.) It

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seems as if the dealing with abstract, theoretical, social, political, humanitarian problems is often an attempt to find relief from situations of intense emotional strain. Naturally it recommends itself to boys and girls of high intelligence. To the question, "Under what conditions do you enjoy discussion and argument?" a boy of sixteen answered, "I like discussions under any circumstances and under any condition about any subject on which I am even faintly informed. But my favorite way is with people I like with opinions I respect on great, permanently unsolvable questions, such as the nature of beauty or the reality of existence."

In the case of Paul the effect of intellectual overstimulation on his health is stressed in the physician's report (May, 1936): "His rest is disturbed considerably by mental overactivity. Sometimes he lies awake for hours, unable to sleep because he is thinking about so many different things. Sometimes he thinks about school work, sometimes about what he will do with his life, and sometimes about social problems." Other problems such as deity, after-life, and peace are pursued to physical and mental exhaustion. His "craving for some hot discussions" and for arguments with an intellectual equal provides the basis on which even his friendship with Joseph rests. Paul's relationship to this boy, with whom he "discussed religion, science, psychology, and politics," was primarily based on the intellectual and verbal contacts made during bull sessions. Knowing the content of these discussions from Paul's interview records, it is obvious that the essential purpose of such metaphysical escapades was not the solution of grand problems (well expressed by the boy who likes to discuss "permanently unsolvable questions"), but rather the mental manipulation as such. It is often astounding how intense are the intellectual powers displayed in such discussions, and it is further striking how little they are used to guide and control the individual's conduct or attitudes in real life situations. Paul, while campaigning for peace, could be thoroughly inconsiderate and aggressive to his peers. The well-known sensitivity of adolescents to social and human problems does not hinder them from being cruel and inconsiderate to others, especially to the people who are closest to them.

Paul in his autobiography refers to periods when he thought a

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good deal and others when he did not. During all that time he was equally superior and satisfactory as a student. Thinking as a mental operation with ideas was only at times, especially during his fifteenth year, a device which assisted him in mastering emotional conflicts. In periods of less tension, thinking ceased to take the central position: "Then I went through a period where I *forgot* to do much thinking." The content of his thinking, which has already been discussed in the case, represented in ideational language certain personal problems uppermost at the time: an antithesis of "one's own happiness" as against "giving oneself to humanity"; the alternative between "education" (dependency) and "experience" (job, independence).

It would seem, then, that intellectualization is suited to the adolescent because it represents a tool for mastering emotional conflict situations. It is interesting to note that Paul at almost eighteen years of age retrospectively placed his highest achievement in "thinking" at the time that his pubescent development, according to his body build pictures, proceeded at a rapid pace and made him tense and irritable. The attainment of physical maturity brought about more mature forms of self-realization and made his intense intellectual preoccupations with abstract problems unnecessary, a change which Paul himself described in his autobiography with "my mind was getting rusty."³²

To illustrate how the search for final causes can stimulate the intellectual curiosity of certain adolescents, an excerpt from an autobiography will be given. The writer, a seventeen-year-old girl, is referring to the ninth grade when she was fourteen years old.

And then I had general science and heard all about the old and new theory concerning the origin of the solar system. This impressed me but my conclusion was that whatever theories one had about the beginnings one always has to account for the first sun, therefore one couldn't be an atheist . . . I had many discussions of a philosophical nature with my sister. There was something about a school of philosophy which claimed that nothing existed unless someone saw or felt it. Of course I wanted to know what about the tree on the desert island that couldn't grow just all in a minute so that the sailor could see it.

³² For a fuller discussion of this point, see above, "Discussion of Paul's autobiography," pp. 209-213.

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Well, then they always beg the issue by saying, "God sees it." And that destroyed my faith in logicians.

Compare with the last argument Paul's statement: "I used to talk about God with one of my friends . . . he said, 'Well, who made the world?' I said, 'Something, some spirit made the world.' He said, 'Who made the spirit?' And of course that's unanswerable."

When Betty made her resolution not to go out with boys for two years, she soon broke it in the hope, perhaps, that she would be socially more successful. But she felt no success; she told the worker, "I had a good time but I didn't care very much. It was just the same as though I had kept my resolutions. I was bored." By withdrawing from social life, Betty managed to make herself believe that she would become more attractive to older boys. Jane's brother had told her that older boys like girls who come from the country and are not like city girls, out for all they can get. In the same fashion another girl of Betty's age rationalized her sense of inadequacy with boys and her inability to cope with the social life of her group by valuing her natural simplicity and lack of sophistication. Such self-deceiving explanations, usually called a "sour-grapes policy," saved these girls from a painful insight into the failure of their heterosexual adjustment. Avoiding situations by saying, "I am not interested," "I have too much homework to do," and the like, are everyday rationalizations that adolescents sometimes use to deceive not only themselves but others as well. Such reactions, though very strong at times, cease to be employed when a more realistic approach toward life problems is achieved. Though rationalization is anything but rare among adults, its transitory and protective character gives it a unique function during adolescence.

Educators have been successful, often too successful, in capitalizing upon another device that adolescents employ in solving their problems, the device of compensation. An individual who is conscious of real or fancied inadequacy in one field will ordinarily seek to restore his self-esteem by intense efforts to excel at some other point. Such compensation is often the explanation of a passionate drive for intellectual achievement, for athletic prowess,

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for popularity. Up to a certain point this type of reaction is a healthy adjustment to the inescapable fact of individual differences, often interpreted by adolescents as inadequacies; but carried too far, it results in a one-sided, unbalanced personality. Schools have been all too ready to acclaim and stimulate this kind of behavior, especially when it produced outstanding scholastic or athletic excellence. In mistaken enthusiasm for good scholarship or good teams, they have often failed in their responsibility for helping students to a well-rounded social adjustment. On the one hand, schools need to go further in providing reasonable opportunities for those who are incapable of high intellectual or athletic achievement; on the other hand, they must give more thought to the direct solution of those personality problems that cannot be adequately handled in such an indirect manner. Compensation has its legitimate uses in relieving strain and in facilitating adjustment to real deficiencies or to cultural and social restrictions. It should not be accepted as a substitute for the direct attack upon the many problems of young people that they could be helped to work through more profitably.

The individual's attempt to make up for a real or fancied inadequacy by outstanding accomplishment in a chosen field must not be confused with his integrative achievement in channeling his energies into culturally and socially valued activities. This, indeed, is a very desirable achievement. It is unavoidable that at adolescence any superior endowment—physical, mental, artistic, manual—will be used to gain social ends and to capitalize on its prestige value. Here lies the origin of important human functions which must, however, be detached from their direct personal meaning in order to attain a quality of objectivity and dependability. Much of educative effort is directed toward this end. In order to guide energies of any kind into new directions and make them independent of fluctuating desires, it is necessary to relate them to a dependable and firm code of values. Such values in the form of introjected parental influences begin to operate early in life to direct the child in his efforts and grant him satisfactions within a given social setting. Accepting parental standards, identifying with their values and ambitions is essential for the child if he is to succeed in his social and emotional development. But

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besides accepting parental demands as self-controlling principles, children build up a picture of a person toward which they strive as a goal of self-realization. This ego-ideal is made early in life, and it is composed of emphasized or valued, admired or envied, traits that the child borrows from his closest surroundings, the family.

At adolescence when the individual has to enlarge his social rôle, when he has to plan for a future, when he has to make choices in fields new to him, it is but natural that a similar process repeats itself. The adolescent forms new identifications, often with astonishing rapidity, and readily adopts other people's rôles for a period of time. Frequently adolescents change their handwriting; they model their appearance and their ideals on the person they admire at the time. Their convictions, interests, mannerisms are often just as short-lived as their relationships. One girl, aged fifteen, tells about this period in her life: "Then I began to worry about what one wanted out of life. I went around asking people and even gave a speech on it in the tenth grade. My conclusions are very indefinite but I think I mean something when I say, 'I want first to be happy and second to have the things that are fine make me happy.'" This urgent desire to define one's own life in terms of goals is a sign of the reorganization of the self which takes place and which is fostered constructively if the adolescent comes in contact with rich, realistic experiences as well as with mature people on whom to pattern, strengthen, and elaborate his ego-ideal. The overpowering search for certainty and reliable knowledge along with a great flexibility and instability is well depicted in the following excerpt from an interview with a fifteen-year-old girl:

Student thinks "it's important to know what you want to get out of life; when you're my age, you want to be great." She felt that the intellect "couldn't carry you everywhere. It doesn't explain life, death, space, time." She would like to write plays; she feels that plays give her a widening of outlook. "When I saw *Arms and the Man*, I wanted to be a pacifist. But I changed my mind when I saw *The Chocolate Soldier*."

How intensely the search for reliable truth, for a guiding principle, for orientation in the world of values can arouse the ado-

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lescent is well illustrated in the following paper written by a girl of seventeen:

What it is that makes man shy away from accepting on faith theories of the supernatural cannot be said. Perhaps organized religion has no appeal because man wants to command his own soul and dictate for himself which ideals he shall choose, and which he shall discard. Forming ideals about human personalities, model societies, may to some seem more plausible and satisfying than accepting ideals already established about a Being, and a paradise, the existence of which can never be assured in this life. It is easier to follow something we can see than it is to follow something which we have never seen and which we can't really be certain of seeing. Or perhaps man's mind is just too finite to conceive the glories told of Heaven. This is why some turn to idealism to satisfy their spiritual desires. But can idealism be accepted as a religion, and be truly satisfying? Is it satisfying in these days of chaos, depression, international unrest to live solely for the bare possibility of a Utopian society coming to this earth? Does a hope for a paradise on earth seem as secure as the hope of an immeasurable greater existence in the eternal hereafter? The question then seems to boil down to this: do "the paths of glory lead but to the grave" or do they, along with the paths of obscurity, lead not *to* the grave but *from* the grave—to glory?

The paper, which was an assignment with the topic "Idealism for Religion," bears a penciled note at the end addressed to the teacher: "Miss May, I'm horribly confused about this, may I see you about it?"

In order to understand the adolescent's concern with religion it is important to know whether the individual grew up in a religious family or in one which repudiated religious affiliation. In either case the adolescent is likely to be deeply concerned with religious concepts, either violently attracted or repelled by the dogmatic attitude of religious institutions. This confusion and concern is due to the fact that the moral or spiritual demands as well as the restrictions embodied in the church represent the institutionalization of early parental influences. Therefore, changing attitudes toward church, God, or rituals at a later age reflect the reactivated infantile relationships to parents or authoritative substitutes. The introjected demands of parents, represented by the church, are therefore by virtue of their origin likely to undergo a phase of instability during the adolescent years. The authority of the

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church may be challenged by inner scruples, and rituals may be rejected with strong personal feelings. Thus Mary³³ did not pray at night after she had quarreled with and felt unjustly treated by her mother; she said, "What's the use of praying, if nobody is good to me anyhow." Recognizing the fact that adolescent heresy is closely related to emancipation from the family, religious institutions themselves ritualize the attainment of maturity by offering new allegiances (e. g., communion), by assisting the process of emancipation from the family through assuming parental rôles (e. g., confession), as well as by providing opportunities for recreation and group experiences.

In families having no religious affiliation or even in those hostile to the institutionalization of spiritual experiences, adolescents exhibit a different reaction from the one described above. The upbringing of the parents in matters of religion and the history of their dissent may also be of profound influence upon the child. Since the process of forming religious feelings, attitudes, and obligations by the institutionalization of parental authority has never occurred in such children, their reaction is bound to be different at adolescence. They often feel cheated by the fact that they were never allowed to become acquainted with religion, and they may accuse their parents of spiritual neglect; this often represents a disguised complaint about affectionate neglect. Concerning religion Paul said, "I think I would have liked to have a better background in religion, when I think of it . . . Mother and Dad don't pay much attention to religion, and I think it's really pretty important."

A girl, aged seventeen, complains about her family's neglect through not having acquainted her with religion; she says, "Probably the most fundamental thing in our lives is the religious, philosophical, and ethical element. . . . My family never talked about religion." Many adolescents expect from religion the solution of their personal conflicts by implying that certainty about God, eternity, creation, universe will restore their shaken feelings of security, belongingness, and self-assurance. Personal conflicts are then projected into religious-philosophical domains where they

³³ See "The case of Mary," particularly the discussion of religion, pp. 420-421.

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can be treated in a safely impersonal manner. The case of Paul has abundantly demonstrated this process. Attitudes toward religion, then, arising at adolescence often reflect the emotional reorganization that the individual undergoes. This reorganization centers around parental control that must be modified by changing relationships and allegiances, built on the basis of existing patterns but in need of becoming related to new goals, values, and persons.

In the adolescent's search for new values adults often play an important rôle. His slowly emerging awareness that other people possess distinct individualities of their own influences his relationship to them considerably. A boy of seventeen, referring to his explorations in people, his sudden awareness of others, and his keen interest in their lives, wrote this passage:

And in the last year I made a wonderful discovery. That is that the people one sees all about and who seem a formless mass with no individuality at all are composed of vitally different personalities all of whom are more or less disposed to talk about themselves. Experience is practically tapping on your back if you only turn around. There were to mention only a few the taxi-driver whose father had been a blacksmith in Haiti and who after having married a Negro woman refused to send his half-breed children to a Negro school. Incidentally, this fellow had about the most sensible political views I have ever heard. All this I gathered in while riding a few miles.

Another boy of the same age wrote of a similar discovery made in the school environment:

I now also realized that it was not enough to classify a teacher as nice or not nice (a nice teacher could have bad qualities and vice versa), in fact it grew on me that a teacher had to be classified in two separate ways: as a teacher, and again as a person. With the ability to see a teacher in more than one light came a real interest in the characters of the people around me: each of my friends took on a new color.

Since adults represent possible objects for identification, they are often crucial figures in the adolescent's attempt to emancipate himself from the family and to develop independence in thinking and control. An excerpt from an interview with Janet, seventeen years old, is but one among many illustrations of the adolescent's tendency to build a strong identification with an adult:

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Janet went on talking about Miss Watson (a teacher). She said it seems funny how much more older people mean to her than friends her own age, that while she is very fond of Mable and Sue she doesn't feel that she gets from them the same thing she gets from talking over her problems with people like Miss Watson.

The relationships of this period, with their highly charged emotional content, are so basically different from the mature forms of relationship that they require special attention. The adolescent tends to develop crushes on older persons, initiating his relationships with a sudden violence. These friendships, of course, are broken off as abruptly as they were begun, and old attachments are readily replaced by new objects of adoration. On the adult level such conduct in personal relationships would be considered faithless and inconsiderate. But the adolescent is in the process of orienting himself to adults outside the family, of experimenting with his relationships to parent substitutes. His affections, which he formerly could express directly in the family, are released explosively upon adults whom he can worship and imitate. There is no other point at which the teacher's maturity is more important for the child. His wise handling of the crush will contribute much to the child's normal growth. The teacher whose own emotional life is healthy and well developed can accept the child's love with an understanding of its transitory character and its temporary importance, supplying the security that is needed, helping the child on his way toward maturity and the type of independent heterosexual love that should eventually replace the childish need.

The following excerpt from an interview with a sixteen-year-old girl illustrates not only the dynamics of the crush situation but it also sheds light on the way in which such attachments to teachers influence the student's interests and attitudes.

Kate said she loved Mr. Huse, her English teacher—it lies some years back—and she was sure she was going to love him all her life. Although he didn't care for her more than with the deep impersonal love he bestowed upon Dick and Fred and all the rest, Kate thought it would be breaking faith with him to try to attract anyone else. Therefore while the other girls all consoled themselves for his remoteness by making themselves as attractive as possible and getting the boys in the class as escorts, Kate went on studying so that she could meet Mr. Huse on an intellectual plane, and wrote poetry. “. . . But when,” Kate ex-

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plained, "we thought that Mr. Huse had stepped from his pedestal and reciprocated the affection of Ruth, one of the most attractive of the girls . . . I no longer found school work interesting . . . I did not work at all except in Latin. . . . My Latin teacher was an extremely sympathetic person."

The urge to be noticed, addressed, singled out by the beloved person is so great that any scheme to provoke a response is justly employed. A girl of fifteen described her feelings during a class period with enlightening insight; it is again clear how interest in subject matter and student-teacher relationships are intimately connected in this case.

In the next class, Civics, it seems that you have developed an amazing headache. The atmosphere, almost pregnant, appears to imply more than express the expectation of something unknown. The feeling is relieved by a contagious titter which sweeps through the class when the telephone is answered by Mr. A—'s, "Hello? oh, *hel-lo* there!" With a headache preventing your finding any smallest bit of humor in the greeting, you look disdainfully around and think, "The simple idiots. I'm the only one here that appreciates a Civics class and realizes its value." Immediately you could bite your tongue out for even venturing upon such a smug, narrow-minded thought, and you consider it well nipped in the bud. It is then you decide not to volunteer in class discussion today, on account of the headache . . . for it wasn't worth bobbing up and down all the time to express thoughts and opinions that would go over half of their heads, while the other half wouldn't even bother to hear; and besides your mood is one in which you say what you feel, no matter the consequence. So you lounge and look out the window. . . . But, listening with one ear, you find that the discussion is hot. In a front seat the girl with beautifully curved eyebrows is up again. She is a blow-hard and appears to be converting everyone to her side of the argument (for it is growing to be just that). Colossal! you think. The Civic class would thrive on her alone. Peculiar, you note, how she addresses the Chair, then turns to Mr. A—, wherever he is, as if she were talking to Him only, instead of the class. Ah! (with contempt) you decide on second observation, she is the type of girl who gets furious crushes on all her young men teachers. You slouch still lower and attempt to cover a bored yawn because you know he is watching you. When the bell rings, you sit just two seconds after everybody's reflex action has betrayed him by making him jump up and crowd out to the corridor. Instead, you meander slowly along, and at the door he asks, "Bored?" But you tell him no and, wearily touching your forehead, murmur "Headache," to which he

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replies, "I thought so." There! your objective is gained—to make him notice you. There are other ways and means than by being on your toes all the time with the right answer, like the girl with the beautifully arched eyebrows.

The case of Betty contains an interesting example of a friendship in which an adolescent attempts to copy and imitate her crush object. Betty changed her name, borrowed Jane's pin, and wore Jane's dress. Suddenly the friendship came to an end. It was replaced by a similar form of friendship, her main motive being to resemble her partner as closely as possible. As a result of this relationship, Betty became passionately interested in ballet dancing. She said about her new friend, "I'm always, always going to keep her for my best friend. She has the same ambition I have and I have the same ambition she has. I gave her my ambition and she gave me her ambition." Betty's identification with the girl alleviated her acute conflict for the time being. The sudden and abrupt changes in friendships and attachments, with complete disregard for the feelings of the other person, have been described by an aloof adolescent observer, a fifteen-year-old girl, who said, "As I watched couples of my friends break up and change to other affairs, none of which went beyond mild petting, I was shocked at their infidelity."

Disappointments in heterosexual attachments are likely to throw the adolescent back to relationships with his own sex. The aspect of inappropriateness of such relationships is likely to discomfort adults, who often feel obliged to break them up; a teacher's report in the case of Harriet may be quoted here:

Harriet is still dominated by Vera who always tells her how to do things. Last year, when Harriet was fourteen, she developed a crush on a girl in the tenth grade, and the two had to be separated. There was nothing serious about this, but Harriet is a very affectionate girl, and always had her arms around this other girl.

The shift of emotional strivings from the opposite to the same sex, often accentuated by adult interference, is frequently responsible for anxieties about the normality of such a relationship. A close friendship between two girls, which had taken place a year earlier, is revealingly described by seventeen-year-old Elizabeth:

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For an outlet for the affection I felt I could no longer feel, much less give to Mr. Stevens [a teacher], I turned to my friend Alice . . . she was very glad to have my devotion. . . . I felt it my duty to emancipate Alice. But it was her appearance that really attracted me. She was like the old fairy princess come to life, tall, pale skin, slim, and soft golden hair that reached way down her back if she let it down. For three months we were inseparable, walks in the early morning snow, walks in the moonlight snow, walks in the snow until we alternated being in bed with the flu and continuing our talks there. It was the first time I really talked out all my ideas, since at home we shared so many there was no use to mention them. . . . I had decided since I had been disappointed in commonplace heterosexual love, my friendship with Alice was leading me toward the homosexual path. Our overt relationship had never extended beyond strong handclaps and my occasionally stroking her hair. But I was sure there must be more to it than that, and thoroughly frightened the kid by making an impassioned confession. Quite what I wanted, I didn't know, except I was to have the exclusive rights to her. I envisioned a lovely cabin by the seashore, with me writing every day, while Alice played with her slide rule and quadratic equations, and long walks by the beach at night. . . . Alice became excited and said we must never speak to each other again.

If it is realized that the child's code of standards, originally based upon family ideals, must undergo reorganization in terms of a broader belongingness to mature social groups, the rebellion of the adolescent becomes understandable. The withdrawal from love objects in the family has a disturbing effect upon the controlling and regulative forces of the conscience and necessarily weakens their position. Such dynamic changes within the personality manifest themselves as rebellion, lack of control, a general disregard of standards and regulations which often takes the form of asocial conduct. Such behavior would, then, represent a preliminary stage before reorientation and final reinstatement of new controlling and regulative forces are built up under the pervasive influence of a wider social group. This comprises not only identifications with people, their values and goals, but also with groups, their ethics and ideologies, with humanitarian ideals and social responsibilities. While the adolescent must eventually adjust to the group mores and achieve modes of conduct which permit personal gratifications to express themselves in socially accepted forms, he is likewise impelled to adjust himself to physical sex differences and

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to find his rôle as a man or woman. The awareness of this rôle begins in the nursery with the perception of different toys and styles of dress, different expectations and methods of management, and it appears again as a revitalized awareness in adolescence. The symbolic character of sex-restricted habits and privileges becomes apparent when the girl begins to use lipstick, compact, fingernail polish, or perfume; often the mere possession of such articles is enough to be satisfactory. The boy is eager to drive a car, to possess a gun, to smoke. Smoking has become for the girl an equally important attribute of maturity since women have taken it up extensively during the last two decades. Such practices illustrate how adolescent behavior imitates in detail the current mores, which, to be sure, may change substantially from city to country and even within small localities where different cultural groups are living together.

The struggle to conform to quite flexible feminine standards, to elaborate an individual variation of the conventional feminine rôle which is related to body build, temperament, talent, and ego-ideal is well depicted in the following excerpt from the case of Nancy, age seventeen:

As she is so overactive and excitable in her aggressiveness, she would appear to be compensating for her insecurity and her inability to play the so-called feminine rôle which she would like to play. Her physical appearance, which is stocky, broad-shouldered, awkward, not attractive, would account for a good deal of her inability to play the feminine rôle (as do most of the girls in the class), and consequently lead her to be aggressive and vehement. Her awareness of the rôle of women was expressed in social science class. Women's place in society was being discussed. The teacher asked, "You'd disagree with that theory that private property brought about the subjugation of women?" Nancy came out in a loud and vehement manner, "It's physical, I think, because from the very beginning the great thing that man has been trying for is to have plenty to live on—food and money—and it's people that are strongest physically that are the ones that get things. The women were naturally weaker and so the men, I guess, felt a sort of sense of duty to look out for them." . . . Nancy does not use make-up as do nearly all the girls in class. She must feel that she cannot possibly compete and hence does not try, but throws herself into a masculine rôle.

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Closely allied to the adolescent's facility in adopting other persons' attitudes, interests, ideals, appearance, and—in effect—their personalities is his unusual ability to understand others and his unsuspected sensitivity toward problems of human relations. This frequently striking insight into people's feeling life makes him appear older than his general behavior would warrant. Because of this emotional sensitivity, the average run of adolescent writings are far more "talented" and rich in genuine feeling tone as well as insight than those of adults. Maturity often brings rigidity and an inability to identify temporarily yet wholeheartedly with others. The teaching of English and the arts can draw upon this adolescent capacity to great advantage and, indeed, help the student to find himself.

Not to be confused with relationships that assist the adolescent in modifying his conception of himself are those interpersonal relations into which he transfers problems originating in another setting. The teacher, or any other person dealing with young people, must learn to interpret much of the rebelliousness, hostility, or defiance of adolescents as a diffuse expression of their struggle to free themselves from their parents. The fight for independence is not limited to the home circle. It extends far beyond, and it is especially aimed at those in authority. Whatever the child's reaction to home authority at this time—be it open rebellion, clinging fear, reasonable independence, or exaggerated dependence—it will be largely reproduced in his attitude toward his teachers as well. In a very real sense they become parent substitutes, symbolizing the parent for the child. He invests them, in his imagination, with many of the attributes of his parents. This leads him to expect his teachers to react as his parents do and impels him to behave accordingly. The teacher who is himself mature and secure can accept this type of behavior for what it is worth and can turn his attention to helping the young person with the fundamental problem he is expressing. The teacher must guard against taking the adolescent's rebellion at its face value and interpreting it as a personal insult or attack.

It is not only the rebellious attitudes toward parents that are thus transferred, of course. Submissive attitudes are reflected in the same way and call for equal insight in their handling by the teacher.

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But perhaps the greatest call upon the teacher's maturity and balance is made when he is invested by the child with the loving and protecting qualities of the parent. If the adolescent is not quite ready to stand alone as he breaks away from his parents, needing the fostering love he has known as a child, he will seek a parent substitute in some older man or woman. Teachers, naturally enough, are often called upon to play this rôle.

The tendency to invest other people with feelings that are really one's own is a protective device frequently employed by adolescents. Feelings of an undesirable quality, such as aggression and hostility which are kept from awareness, become projected on to other persons. This device provides a logical justification for one's own hostile feelings, while at the same time one receives punishment for the unconscious strivings through being the target of other people's rejection, criticism, and aggression. Though reason is powerless in such instances, a change in the feeling life of the person slowly makes the outside world change into a more friendly and more pleasant place. This change is clearly demonstrated in the case of Mary, which provides an illuminating insight into its dynamics.

The case of Betty has illustrated a further reaction which deserves attention. It will be remembered that she concentrated her worries, which were first concerned with her general appearance and weight, on one physical mark—her mole. From then on she could dismiss all her other fears of inadequacy, and in fact she made the final success of her heterosexual strivings depend on the removal of this mole. She canceled dates, refused invitations, avoided meeting a college boy whom she had liked in the firm belief that with the disappearance of the mole her whole person would be changed. Such concentration of worries on hair, complexion, braces, glasses, or any of the innumerable details of personal appearance is a well-known reaction among adolescent girls and is by no means rare among adolescent boys. It plays an important rôle in their feeling of personal adequacy and largely disappears from the focus of self-awareness with progressive social and heterosexual adjustment and with satisfactory experiences in these realms.

Any of the adolescent's concerns can be shunted from their original source into a related situation or activity. Through this

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process of expressing conflicts indirectly, he often puzzles the people about him by displaying a violent emotional response to situations that seem to merit no such reaction. This type of behavior is illustrated by a girl of sixteen who was known to be a brilliant student; yet, whenever a test was given, she became confused and excited, wept and finally had to give up the attempt. According to the guidance worker, the girl had a high-strung intellectual mother and was competing with her in the field of scholastic achievement. Here the mother had been most successful. The girl's desire to outshine the mother was condensed in each test situation into a competitive struggle with her, an attack so charged with emotional tension that it was followed by surrender and defeat. Under guidance care she came to accept her feelings toward the mother, and, with this situation cleared up, she was able at the end of the year to pass the examinations needed for college entrance. How a seventeen-year-old girl managed to divert the forces of conflict into a secondary field of controversy is revealed in the following record: "Frances is very much concerned about religion at present. She said to worker, 'I can't discuss religion with my mother. She's too—well, I just can't.' Then she laughed and said, 'I get an awful kick out of going home and announcing that I'm for Norman Thomas. Gee, does that burn the family up!'"

The reactions that have been described presuppose a highly differentiated personality, able to use complex instrumentalities in coping with life problems. It should not be overlooked, however, that direct satisfaction is also a possible way of dealing with conflict situations. Running away from home or seeking sexual gratification are not infrequent among adolescents. But such experiences do not necessarily have desirable results; without accompanying emotional reorganization, the individual cannot succeed in reaching maturity. Sexual relationships, initiated comparatively early in adolescence, are apt to be infantile in nature; they are often completely abandoned, almost forgotten, and replaced in later years by mature relationships.³⁴

The adolescent is usually aware of the necessity of "learning" self-control. Self-determined action usually grows in strength with

³⁴ The case of Joe will offer a detailed illustration of this form of adolescent behavior and its significance for social adjustment; see pp. 470 ff.

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the firmer consolidation of the personality and with the passing of disintegrative processes. In this connection, the following excerpt from an interview with a sixteen-year-old girl may be illustrative:

May said there was a great fight in social science class this morning, in which she opposed the child-labor amendment, and Mr. Thurman, the teacher, came out flatly against her stand. She then spoke of an assistant teacher who was in Mr. Thurman's room when she went to speak to him during a free period. She said: "He makes me so mad! I can't stand these know-it-alls. And I think people who argue about the superiority of men over women are crazy. It's something you just can't measure."

Worker asked what it had all been about.

May explained that the assistant had said that women are not as good losers as men.

May said again: "It's not measurable!" She laughed and said, "But you should see the self-control I'm developing. I don't blow up any more. I just didn't say anything. And even when I'm typing or playing ping-pong I don't swear; I just snap my fingers and say 'Nerts.'"

. . . Worker had the feeling that May's new self-control is the result not so much of a forcible restraint imposed by May upon herself, but rather, a genuine integration.

In order to achieve control—to succeed in distributing and externalizing energy in such a way that behavior is in keeping with cultural conformities as well as with personal strivings—it is essential for the adolescent to experiment with the many modes of gratification and self-realization that differentiated mature living implies. As his inhibitory and regulative powers are strengthened through new identifications and sustained by social status and stable relationships the individual ceases to make use of the many emergency reactions that have been described. In time the instinctual life loses its impelling and threatening character, and it can be controlled by a person who has profited from the manifold experiences of his adolescent period. Whereas emotional reactions have a highly personal reference at adolescence, they later blend with acknowledged group behavior: literature, the theater, the movie are legitimate modes of withdrawal from the disappointments of life; humanitarian, philosophical, and political ideas and trends are acceptable areas for the use of rationalization. But it

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stands to reason that they are, in addition, coöperative, realistic, and lasting efforts to solve the problems of living that never cease to confront man.

The reactions which have been separately discussed outside the context of a specific case are typical, yet their meaning varies in kind and degree with each individual. All of these reactions are not by any means employed by every adolescent. In fact, certain types of reactive behavior will suit one adolescent better than another, as a glance at the case histories of Betty and Paul will verify. Often the reactions change or their content varies as time passes. Betty in the ninth grade was loud and vulgar; she was nervous and bit her finger nails. But a year later she became subdued and withdrawn into her fantasy life. Paul in the tenth grade added physical outlets to his purely intellectual forms of compensation, and this change represented a healthy broadening of his reactive pattern. It is obvious that any externalization chosen by the individual must be related to his capacity and that, furthermore, it must carry prestige and distinction in the group of which the person is a member.

The question now arises why certain types of reactive behavior appeal to some individuals and are disregarded by others. In order to arrive at any satisfactory answer, the individual life history must be consulted. Only if previous experiences are taken into account can the specific reactions and the idiosyncratic quality of adolescent behavior be viewed as a logical sequence in a life line which extends far back into infancy.

4. The Influence of Early Experiences upon Adolescent Development

Individual adolescents differ considerably in their reactive behavior and in the degree of strain they experience during this period of growth. Some of them meet the inherent problems of this developmental stage with comparative ease, others with great difficulty. In attempting to account for these differences we must return again to the concept of adolescence as one phase in a continuous growth process. We can then realize that in dealing with his immediate problem the adolescent is greatly helped or hindered by the character of his early experiences. For it is implicit in growth that each early phase of development must be successfully fulfilled if the next stage which grows out of it is to be satisfactorily achieved. This is obvious enough in the sphere of physical growth and intellectual development. It is equally true in the sphere of the emotional life. It is not surprising, then, that the child's earliest relations to his parents and to his brothers and sisters, his earliest experiences of love and gratification, of discipline and denial, exert a profound influence on his subsequent emotional development and are reflected in his approach to the problems of adolescence. We cannot understand his present attitudes without some conception of the way in which they were originally built up.

The human infant is at first entirely self-centered, interested only in the gratification of his immediate bodily needs and the pleasure or distress associated with them. His love for others is a purely selfish love, determined by their usefulness to him and replaced by anger as soon as they thwart him in any way. But he soon begins to develop confidence in the person who takes care of him. He learns to wait and to turn his interest and attention toward the world of objects around him. A feeling of confidence and security gradually becomes attached to reality, to things, and to other people as well. By this time he is prepared to give up some of his infantile desires and to learn to control some of his primitive responses

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as the price of his parents' love and approval. This is the beginning of socialization.

It is inevitable, of course, that this training will often involve anger and frustration for the child. But if the child feels himself truly secure in the love of those who care for him—and if their training is neither too severe nor too lax—he is able to accept the necessary denials and to progress toward the expected forms of conduct. His parents' rules become his rules; their standards are gradually absorbed and become his conscience. Their attitudes in training and management precipitate in the child a feeling of right and wrong in relation to the body, in relation to actions, feelings, fantasies, and wishes as well. His interest ceases to be centered on his body alone but broadens to include the world outside. His love grows gradually less selfish and includes not only those who serve him but others whom he accepts for their own sake. Through these combined influences there emerges in the child a concept of himself; this concept normally develops on the level of aspiration appropriate to the child's physical and mental powers, and it is at the same time imbued with expectations and idealizations of the person he wants to become.

In middle childhood he explores and welcomes new experience as a challenge, secure in the love and protection he has known before, but no longer totally dependent upon it. Gradually he builds up faith in his own powers and judgment, in his ability to find loyalties broader than the family group. He becomes objective enough to compare the standards of his home with other standards and to choose and modify values without too great conflict or fear.

If, however, he has had reason to doubt his parents' love or has been too completely overwhelmed by its intensity, or if their early demands were too severely enforced or not enforced at all, he will undergo difficulties in his development. Instead of satisfying and gradually outgrowing his infantile desires and his infantile ways of loving and hating, the child may cling to them. They will remain part of his personality, often hidden from view and totally unrecognized, but hampering his future growth and his progress toward more mature attitudes and satisfactions. With the new intensity of feeling life which is characteristic of adolescence, many

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of these old problems become active again and are largely responsible for the great variety and newness of behavior.

It is more than a play on words when anthropologists refer to the puberty or initiation rites of primitive people as a rebirth; in fact, the entrance of the physically mature person into the group of adult men and women is not infrequently dramatized in these terms. For example, in the initiation ceremonies practiced by the Arunta of Central Australia, the boy is snatched away from home by three men and carried off against his will, frightened and struggling, to the ceremonial grounds, where he cannot be seen by women. Here he is given his first introduction to sacred totemic matters, and "everything which he sees and hears is new and surrounded with an air of mystery."³⁵

In seeking to understand such widely prevalent rituals one comes to realize that they dramatize a psychological process relevant for the understanding of the adolescent in our culture. Naturally the protracted character of adolescence in Western civilization will make it essentially different from the attainment of maturity in primitive societies. But despite cultural differences, adolescents in any society enter into a new world, psychologically speaking, and therefore adolescent adjustment follows the basic theme of repeating adaptations to reality formed in early childhood.

Because of gonadal development and hormonal imbalance, pubescence confronts the child with inner stimulations entirely new to him, which fluctuate in their intensity. The child is not at all conscious of this change. But his reactive behavior is mobilized with the chief purpose of keeping his emotional economy in balance, of countering stimulation with discharge. The sudden reappearance of emerging instinctual needs at pubescence has a profound effect on the personality and reveals itself in characteristic behavior. Bodily influences heretofore nonexistent give rise to varying degrees of general excitation. The highly differentiated personality becomes, so to speak, flooded with irregular excitation, certain forms of behavior becoming intensified and new ones arising. The great variety of behavior, interests, and attitudes of this period has already been described in detail. The fact that the

³⁵ Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillin, *The Arunta* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1927), p. 188.

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personality at this level bears traces of all the experiences which influenced and formed it and that it is highly susceptible to group behavior at the same time accounts for the rich picture of behavior which pre-adolescence displays. This picture is, of course, essentially colored by individual constitution and temperament.

The ability to control motility decreases at this period, as compared with preceding and following years. The breakdown of inhibitory and controlling barriers under the pressure of increased excitation often releases earlier forms of gratifications with a disturbing violence and a frightening persistency. Betty at this age suddenly entered a phase of boisterous vulgarity and nervous habits. Another girl of Betty's age who tried "to evade baths and showers" was reproved one day by the teacher: ". . . she had tar all over her clothing, from somewhere in the playgrounds, and had been chewing tar and had it all over her teeth. I emphasized the uncleanness of this and made her clean out her mouth and teeth and scolded her some." The adult's sympathetic indignation in the face of such regressive behavior is quite to the point: a re-training is necessary that calls for the innovation and acceptance of new goals and standards. The absence of standards is all too obvious in the behavior of pre-adolescent children; they are noisy for the sake of noise, they are sloppy and dirty because they "like it," they show a general eruptiveness which can break out as an intensification of almost any form of behavior. This phase of diffuse excitation may be regarded as the disintegrative period of pre-adolescence. In our culture, at any rate, this disintegration seems to represent an inevitable breakdown and a return to early forms of gratification. It occurs to a greater or lesser degree before reorganization takes place in terms of mature dealing with people, reality, and self. Cultural factors are undoubtedly crucial in contributing to the disintegration of the personality during this period. According to Ruth Benedict,

It is not surprising that in such a society [as ours] many individuals [at adolescence] fear to use behavior which has up to that time been under a ban and trust instead, though at great psychic cost, to attitudes that have been exercised with approval during their formative years.³⁶

³⁶ "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," *Psychiatry*, Vol. 1, May, 1938, p. 167.

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From her observations of Bali culture, in which she gave special attention to the adolescent period, Margaret Mead found no evidence of regressive behavior among the native pre-adolescent. Whatever accounts for this absence in Bali of a period characteristic of the adolescent in our society, it no doubt has its roots in cultural factors acting upon the child during his early life and is one more proof that cultural influences to a great extent condition the particular character of the adolescent period.

The progressive subjugation of infantile impulses in conjunction with a gradual consolidation of mature goals and directedness is the essential process leading from pre-adolescence to adolescence proper. The following two excerpts concerning the same girl will serve to illustrate the unique behavior which takes place during the disintegrative period of early adolescence; they will also show the evolvment of goals and values which channel the diffuse excitation into forms of more directed and controlled behavior. Excerpt from the autobiography of Lois, age seventeen:

The transition that I underwent at the age of eleven, when I was as social as at five, to my great desire to be social at the age of fourteen, was accompanied by a series of factors. Of these probably the most important and the most difficult for me to explain was my own maturation. I gradually broke away from my brother's code, that he held until sixteen, of the inferiority of girls. I changed from tagging after gangs of boys, who would not accept me, to joining groups of girls who would. Here was where the Girl Scouts became a guiding force in my life. . . . I would do my good deed proudly each day. . . . The scout master was a breezy woman I admired, as she so directly contrasted with the fussy school teachers and my parents.

Excerpt from worker's report, referring to the same period of Lois' disintegration and redirection:

Despite Lois' complete knowledge of the facts of sex, her transition from the boyish rowdiness of twelve and thirteen, to her "sickly sentimentalism" of fifteen and sixteen was exceedingly difficult, painful, distasteful. Having always boasted to herself of her immunity to such stupid sensations—having been proud of her superior self-sufficiency—she despised herself for her first thrill to the sight of and nearness to a boy. She was disgusted with her strange interest in her heretofore unimportant body and appearance after this thrill. And when she found herself envying other girls, their beauty and attractiveness, and craving

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attention she was at the same time repulsing, her scorn for herself knew no bounds. She became morbid and despondent, lost all confidence in herself, suffered an acute disintegration which continued to an almost drastic extent—then, fortunately, took a new hold on life, faced facts intelligently and courageously and built up a whole new outlook, but not without passing through a sort of defiant, vulgar stage. During this latter stage she seemed to delight in playing on words such as fornication, adultery, illegitimacy, passion, etc. The vulgar, defiant stage seems to have passed and Lois is now satisfied to be the woman she is and can make of herself. During the “vulgar” stage Lois boasted to her friends of having many “affairs” but the worker feels sure that she had none of them.

The same phase in the development of a sixteen-year-old girl is reflected in the worker's report and is valuable as a contrast to the preceding quotation, for it shows how varied the individual's progression can be:

There seems to be the beginning of a change in Emily. It is subtly evidenced. The same behavior patterns as last year are present, but they are less intense, there is a blurring of the outlines. At times they emerge with their old explosive force, and the old Emily appears in a whirlwind, but these occasions are infrequent and serve to heighten the perception of the new picture. Perhaps it is the blurring of the outlines which accounts for the sense of integration one gets from Emily now. But one feels a direction and purposefulness which last year was lacking. Last year she seemed diffuse, scattered; she had a force which seemed to expend itself in eruptions caused by pent-up pressure with but small relation to outside circumstances. This fall she seems more positively aware of what goes on around her. Last year she was aware, but rejected what she saw, and participated but little. This year she observes and participates. She seems to pay more attention to the group, to make tentative advances toward individuals, be less antagonistic, more responsive in an outgoing way. She is still hypercritical, but her criticisms are milder, seem motivated more by objectivity, rather than contrariness. Last year her closest contacts were with adults; they are this year, but one suspects that she will make closer contacts with her peers. She is shy, a little ashamed of all this shift in her behavior, which makes one wonder how much of it is conscious. One hopes it will not be remarked upon, for she would shy like a frightened colt; inwardly pleased but compelled to reject. She is less slovenly about her person; at times she is well groomed and shows how attractive she might be. Her figure is trimmer, her clothes seem more a part of her, rather than hung on her. She still sprawls and slouches, but at times

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there is an erectness in her carriage and a spring in her walk. She is taking more of a part in class discussions, really discussing rather than arguing. There is apparent a calm confidence in her statements, and the group is responding to it by respecting her opinions. There is more animation in her face; it is not so often heavy and sullen.

All these differences when verbalized make a picture more marked than it really is. This emerging pattern is not integrated; it is still submerged; parts of it appear only in flashes. It is only by remembering the flashes and integrating them for oneself that one gets a view of what may come.

With a new directedness the behavior of the adolescent undergoes a change. If, however, his behavior is directed only by outward conformity and is not paralleled by emotional growth (an imbalance which is seldom avoided in adolescent development), a conflict will exist. The fact that basic relationships to people, to reality, to self must be made over in terms of new goals cannot fail to reactivate early patterns of response as well as the conflicts which preceded and accompanied their stabilization. It is no wonder that the first experiences in molding relationships to people—parents and siblings—become shaken in their relative stability and, figuratively speaking, broken up into the component affects which preceded their consolidation and patterning. The most distressing consequence of this disintegration of stabilized patterns of relationship is the recurrence of their ambivalent character, of affection and aggression in augmented strength. Among the adolescent's feelings toward his parents, such components as aggression, rebellion, or resentment find a readier outlet within the family than do the affectional needs which are nevertheless just as compelling. Love and affection must find objects, at least in part, in extra-familial relationships. The particular path that the adolescent takes in finding such new relationships, in accepting authority, in expressing affection or rebellion bears an essential similarity to earlier phases of his life. A mother, in complaining about a present attitude of her fourteen-year-old daughter, noted the relatedness between early behavior patterns and their adolescent recurrence: "As a child she was shy, it was difficult to get her to come into the room when there were guests. Now she does it under protest."

The histories of Betty and Paul contain numerous examples il-

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lustrating that childhood patterns are repeated at adolescence. Many of the philosophical questions upon which Paul exercised his reasoning powers at adolescence undoubtedly had their origins in the vague speculations of his childhood. During an interview in which he was discussing the cessation of consciousness after death, Paul said to the worker, "Then all of a sudden you stop and the world goes on without this particular part of consciousness. Then you wonder why all these consciousnesses come in and out of the world." To the worker's inquiry concerning the age at which Paul began to wonder about such things, Paul replied, "Oh, as long back as I can remember I always wondered about it." It is indeed striking how rarely do new elements enter the behavior pattern during the time of adolescent development. Many are new in form, content, timing, or intensity; but in the perspective of the total life history, their roots can be clearly traced back to earlier years of life. The behavior patterns do not change so much as the level of externalization, which is determined by the physical, emotional, and intellectual maturity of the individual. Thus, the child who asks at three or four, "Why don't ponies grow bigger?" will ask at fourteen or fifteen, "What is eternity?" "Where does space end?" or "Is there after-life?" In both cases such inquisitiveness is often the forerunner of formidable strides in intellectual and social development.

The process of leaving the family and establishing a more independent control will inevitably reflect early parent-child relationships. The difficulties encountered by the adolescent in emancipating himself from the family may be vastly increased or greatly alleviated through his childhood experiences in the family. Those who have been too much protected will find the sheltering comfort of childhood unusually difficult to leave behind, while for those who have felt unloved and insecure as little children, all new experiences will be terrifying, all responsibility charged with danger. For either type, adulthood with its responsibilities is not easy to attain in smooth transition.

Children who have early in life been compelled to sustain the flow of parental affection by meek compliance may later avoid the slightest show of rebellion as threatening them with a loss of love. Beneath their apparent compliance, unexpressed and often uncon-

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scious resentments continue. More aggressive children sometimes adopt quite opposite tactics. If they feel unloved and unfairly treated, they respond with violent rebellion, a rebellion that brings upon itself repeated punishment, a deep-seated fear of all authority, or a guilty sense of personal unworthiness. These early ways of responding become firmly rooted in the child's personality. They are the only patterns he knows for meeting authority, for approaching new experiences, for dealing with his own feelings toward adults. These, then, are the patterns he must follow in his adolescent struggle for independence, and they will be primary in deciding how difficult he will find it.

So, too, he approaches the task of heterosexual adjustment, dependent on patterns of behavior he has learned in his childhood. His earliest experiences of affection, his early learning of right and wrong in respect to the body, his own and others, his earliest feelings about men and women are the groundwork on which he must build the mature love for a suitable mate and the comfortable acceptance of his own rôle as man or woman. Experiences in the family and the kind of relationship he has had to either of the parents will be of importance in determining how fully he can accept the implications of his own sex, and the privileges, limitations, and responsibilities which go with it in the particular culture in which he lives.

This complex development does not always progress smoothly. It may go astray in a variety of ways. It is not surprising, then, to find many adolescents whose difficulties in this area are as acute as those revealed by Betty; in the way she approached people and disposed of her emotionality at adolescence, one comes to recognize the reflection of family relationships that were set at an early age of her life. However, it must be borne in mind that similar problems may arise from very different life histories. Children may be hampered by too much love or by too little. The child who has felt unloved or unwanted will grow up needing an infantile protective sort of love relationship; so, too, will the child whose early love experience has been too intense. The boy who is loved by his mother too much or not at all will have difficulty in his adjustment to other women; similarly the girl's relationship to her father will greatly determine her approach to other men. The boy's

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acceptance of his masculine rôle and the girl's acceptance of her femininity will depend to a large extent upon their feelings about their parents and the sort of people the parents are. They may be influenced too by jealousy of brothers or sisters or by the parents' unsatisfied longing for a child of the opposite sex.

The early history is equally important in determining the individual's ability to achieve a mature level of social identification. This implies a concern for the general social good and satisfaction in work which furthers it. It requires ability to coöperate with equals or with those in authority, to evaluate changing standards and trends without either a slavish subservience to the established or a passionate need to overthrow it. In the allegiance to a gang or group of friends of his own age or sex, the child develops for the first time an intense loyalty outside the family, and often in conflict with some of its standards. For a time he may be arrayed with the gang against all adults and their demands, a typical state for the pre-adolescent. This is a valuable step forward in breaking his dependence on the family group and in finding social satisfaction on a broader basis. But gangs are factional, often hostile to each other, and utterly unmindful of any larger social good than their own.

In later adolescence there can be observed a swing away from this type of loyalty toward a more mature social identification. The cases of Betty and Paul showed that the image of oneself which emerges at adolescence is fundamentally influenced by its first consolidation in childhood. The importance of this identification, which recurs during adolescence at a higher level of aspiration, is well expressed by Edward Sapir: "Man's conception of himself and of the kind of person he would be is of more importance individually and socially than almost any other phase of his life."

Social development at adolescence may also be influenced by jealousy and competition between brothers and sisters. Where jealousy has been extreme, the child may transfer his hostile attitude to all his playmates and be unable to find satisfaction in their companionship or to make himself acceptable to them. Whether he is too aggressive or too servile with his fellows, he will encounter difficulties in establishing a free give-and-take relationship. He is likely to be jealous and touchy, unable to accept group pres-

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tures. And this inability to coöperate with equals and to find full pleasure in group enterprise will hamper markedly his social adjustment. In the same way, his attitude toward parental authority will be carried along to influence his relationship to all subsequent authority, be it the gang leader, the teacher, the employer, the church, or the state itself. Rebellion or submission reflect patterns laid down in early childhood. If these reactions are extreme and based upon rigid patterns, they are certain to hamper the adolescent in finding full satisfaction in social relationships and in reaching a mature view of social responsibilities. So, too, these attitudes will hinder him in making an evaluation and choice among changing social standards and ideals. Since the child's early sense of security or lack of it greatly influences his attitude toward all that is new and untried, his early relationship to his parents may impel him to cling to their standards, to reject them passionately, or it may enable him to modify parental standards gradually and thoughtfully in the face of new experiences. This applies, of course, not only to the ways of achieving independence in action but to social vision and ideational life as well.

The reactivation of early formative processes during adolescence is likely to deprive existing behavior patterns of the firm and rigid quality which they possessed during middle childhood. Touchiness and unreasonableness are well known reactions of this period. Because of the introspective trend of adolescents they show an awareness of and insight into their own conflicts that is often astoundingly keen. The constituents of feeling life are in such a mobile and volatile state of reorganization that the personality is likely to be highly responsive, positively and negatively, to various experiences. This leads necessarily to extreme forms of behavior, unstable in kind, which in terms of conformity and social value are often regarded as destructive and offensive. However, such behavior needs closer consideration in order to determine how far it constitutes desirable adjustment in terms of individual growth.

5. A Concept of Adolescent Adjustment

Any concept of adjustment, whether popular or scientific, that evaluates people solely in accordance with their adjustment to the normative demands of the environment is an arbitrary one. It is a concept relative to the standards of behavior and attitude represented by cultural patterns; adjustment is equated with conformity to these patterns. In such a view of adjustment, conflicts within the individual are disregarded, for outward conformity may conceal inner conflict.

As applied to the adolescent, a concept of adjustment ceases to be meaningful if evaluated in terms of a static relationship to outer demands or a successful achievement in some single sphere of living. During the relatively stable period of adulthood, the factors of conformity and achievement become important clues to an individual's total adjustment, though even here they do not tell the whole story. But these factors are inadequate as measures of the adolescent's adjustment, which is in a state of flux.

The adjustive situation of the adolescent is indeed of a peculiar and distinctive nature. He passes through a period of rapid transition that affects him physically, socially, emotionally, intellectually. He cannot function as a child, nor can he accept childhood status and at the same time establish new identifications outside the home or initiate heterosexual strivings. He has no clear-cut membership in any group: while still living with his family he has ceased to be a child, but he has not yet attained adult status. If he is loyal to the mores of his age-group, he will inevitably find himself in conflict with adult values. In order to permit the adolescent to move along in his development toward a more inclusive adjustment, the hitherto stable situation in the family must be fundamentally altered. This leads to behavior that, because it forcibly contradicts childhood status, will bring about conflict, latent or overt. Such disturbing and often painful experiences, however, are essential for bringing about an orientation to a larger social order. It seems,

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then, that adolescent behavior must be considered in relation to its purpose or goal, to its potential contribution toward the attainment of maturity.

Frankwood E. Williams gives the following definition of maturity:

An adult is (1) one who is able to see objects, persons, acts (realities) in terms of what they are, cleaned of all infantile symbolic investments; (2) one who is under no compulsion either to do or not to do, but who is free to act, in accordance with the realities of any given situation; and (3) one who is able to adjust to an inalterable situation with a minimum of conflict.³⁷

Maturity may also be formulated as the individual's ability to integrate his impulses and drives with the demands of the many groups to which he belongs. He can be said to have achieved a mature level of adjustment when he finds release for his individuality, without neurotic compromises or delinquent episodes, in accordance with his multiple rôle as a person of a certain age, sex, race, and social status functioning in the family, church, club, community, profession, or other groups. Because of the many variables involved, adjustment even at maturity is subject to constant shifts and fluctuations. The process of adjustment never reaches a point of static completion.

The desire for childish protection, the need for escaping into fantasy, the inability to accept reality in inter-personal relationships may indicate profound disturbances if they occur in adulthood. Though such behavior may appear to be equally deviate during adolescence, the case histories have shown that it is far from infrequent, unusual, or even unhealthy. Its deviation from adult standards, however, is not a measure of its meaningfulness for adolescent development. It becomes significant only when considered in terms of the adolescent's progression and directedness which, in the long-range view, is the basis for an evaluation of adjustment during this period. Each behavior item, therefore, becomes meaningful in relation to the goals peculiar to adolescence.

These goals, which have already been outlined, are three-fold: emancipation from the family, heterosexual adjustment, and voca-

³⁷ *Adolescence* (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1930), p. 15.

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tional, ideational, and economic self-determination. As has been learned from the case histories of Betty and Paul, the attainment of this three-fold goal, implicit in maturity, proceeds in highly individualistic ways, with idiosyncratic meanings attached to all experiences. Therefore, extensive information regarding the individual is necessary in order to determine the function of his behavior in relation to his development. However, as an outcome of such studies, one should come to recognize the forms of behavior which are commonly used by adolescents to cope with the emergencies they meet, and one should consequently be able to interpret them in terms of the developmental process they serve rather than to subject them to a code of standards adopted either from child or adult behavior. In evaluating behavior it seems necessary to grant adolescence its own status, a status based on the inherent purposes of the developmental period. This would parallel the growing realization that the stages of infant development are not only preparations for the times to come but that they possess their own integrity and function, however uncomfortable they may be to the environment which applies unsuitable standards.

The diffuse intensification of certain behavior is a manifestation normal for the pre-adolescent; it indicates his attempt to harness new impulses and powers and to orient them toward new goals. The pre-adolescent, then, while being asocial in terms of descriptive behavior is nevertheless fulfilling, so to speak, his developmental task. Gang allegiances which alienate him temporarily from adults and age-mates of the other sex represent an important step in his social development, though they are in opposition to the standards that may have been applicable a year earlier. Readjustments must again take place when heterosexual interests emerge and the "peer culture" provides the yardstick for good and evil. Since most of adolescent behavior can be considered as experimental or protective and consequently temporary in nature, it becomes necessary to observe the adolescent at time intervals rather than at a given point and to look at his total life experiences rather than at one aspect (academic, social, creative) exclusively. Profound personality changes, resulting from advances in heterosexual adjustment, may be accompanied by poor scholastic performance; flight into introspective activities, such as writing, reading, or paint-

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ing, may mark a period of inner reorganization, a possibly necessary prelude to renewed participation in the social life of the group. In the attempt to control his environment, the individual may appear at times disobedient, defiant, and self-assertive; however, in terms of growth such behavior is not *per se* undesirable. On the contrary, its complete absence sometimes deserves attention.

This does not mean that any gross trespassing of social norms during adolescence, such as truancy, stealing, indiscriminate sex relations, should be regarded with complacency. Such behavior deserves attention and proper treatment. But if it is considered in relation to the developmental phase in which it occurs, it will count as a less severe indictment against the offender's personality at adolescence than during middle childhood or adulthood. For the adaptive character of behavior does not reveal itself directly through its mere overt content. Case material has borne out the point that adolescent conflicts, even those of great intensity, frequently disappear entirely in early adulthood without leaving any traces of deviating behavior.³⁸ Furthermore the insight gained through the study of individual adolescents has thrown light upon behavior which often seems absurd or abnormal to the casual observer. Adolescents are frequently aware of their absurdity in adult eyes. One girl came to an interview to discuss the problem of making friends; she felt she had too few friends of her own. She had tried to talk this over with her mother, who had dismissed the matter with, "Don't be so analytical! It's just adolescence." The girl then went on to remark, "Adults think adolescence is a period when you are queer, *but I don't feel queer.*" (Italics mine.)

Personality disturbances and peculiarities of behavior are therefore the rule rather than the exception during adolescence. If they are seen in the context of individual adolescent adjustment, and not merely in relation to group norms, they can be evaluated in terms of their positive or negative effect upon personality development. Physiological changes, an essential part of the adolescent's growth, must likewise be considered in the context of his total development. At any period of an individual's life, physical changes have

³⁸ The case of Joe illustrates dramatically that extremely defiant, even delinquent, behavior will succumb in a few years without outside interference.

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a profound influence upon his capacity to cope with personal problems, but at adolescence this aspect of growth needs particularly careful attention. The rapidity and unevenness of physical growth at this period are likely to aggravate the other strains to which the adolescent is put. His reactions will frequently indicate that his powers are being overtaxed and that disorganization is likely to ensue unless he is temporarily relieved from immediate pressures. It must be borne in mind that the adolescent is exposed to manifold life experiences, either obvious to himself and his environment or rather remote and intangible, and so faces constantly adjustive demands with necessarily limited capacities. If many pressure situations coincide in time—such as family break-up and rapid pubescent development, or sex-inappropriate development and heightened academic exigencies—this is likely to result in extreme reactions which hamper his development. Thus it becomes necessary for significant persons in his environment to adjust external requirements in order to facilitate and support optimal growth.

But such relief in itself cannot be expected to result in any permanent stabilization; it can help the adolescent to continue with his progress toward more mature goals. In working through his task of emancipating himself from the family, he will still seek parent substitutes, from whom he will expect the protection, approval, support, or sometimes even the punishment that he was accustomed to receive in the family. Bizarre forms of behavior may also arise from his attempts at heterosexual adjustment. The carrying out of this task may be accompanied by particularly intense disturbances because of the strong disapproval of sexual experimentation in our culture. Despite sexual mores, however, the adolescent is inevitably faced with this adjustive task. Its importance is forcefully described by Frankwood E. Williams.

If heterosexuality is not accomplished in these four or five years, it never will be accomplished in a normal way. It may be accomplished later by some technical interference, but then only after much conflict, failure and illness. These four or five years hold the only chance the average boy and girl will have to establish their heterosexuality. Once prevented, it can never come naturally and normally again. It is a real

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problem, therefore, that faces the child, in spite of the importance of college entrance examinations just ahead, which face the parent.³⁹

In seeking economic and vocational self-determination, the adolescent encounters a problem that is particularly acute at the present time. Considered in terms of his total development, his difficulties in achieving economic independence may have serious repercussions throughout his entire adjustment. Without a job and without the social status that a job implies, he cannot genuinely emancipate himself from the family; he cannot marry for many years to come, nor even think of marriage realistically. In short, his adjustment takes the form of a protracted adolescence.

Since much of adolescent behavior is of an experimental or protective character, bearing the signs of temporary adaptive efforts, the prolongation of youth cannot be endured indefinitely. Reactions which were meant to be exploratory—socially, intellectually, personally, physically,—become under their extended use firmly established and stabilized components of the personality. This is unavoidable under the circumstances, but such a premature stabilization hinders the personality in any mature dealing with life problems. Reactive behavior and attitudes, appropriate to the adolescent level, slowly undergo a consolidation and patterning which developmentally was not meant to take place. There is no doubt that it is undesirable for the emotional growth of the child to become arrested or fixated at any stage of his early development. Equally serious consequences result from a fixation at the adolescent level and the ultimate acceptance of adolescent forms of behavior as adequate means of satisfaction and achievement. This adolescent fixation applies, of course, not only to social behavior, but to the concept of the self as well; it will influence the life of the adult person or, at least, severely complicate his attainment of emotional maturity.

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³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

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4

Mary and Joe

Introduction

The two cases previously discussed, those of Betty and Paul, represented a boy and a girl selected from a group of adolescents who were still attending school. Since the overt forms of adolescent behavior are strongly influenced by the social group to which the individual belongs, it was thought important to present the cases of an out-of-school boy and girl who belonged to a social stratum that did not provide them with such a protected life. The Committee on the Study of Adolescents included in its research project adolescents of less favored social and economic status. A group of these young people were clients of the National Youth Administration; they belonged to the Part-time Project Group. They worked forty-four hours a month as typists, clerical assistants, helpers in community centers, and so forth, and received \$22.00 monthly in remuneration.

The study of unemployed youth in this latter group was not considered to be "primarily an investigation of the characteristics and problems of economically handicapped youth but, in common with the other studies of the Committee, is essentially an inquiry into the needs and problems of adolescents. In other words, although the group studied differs socially and economically from some of the other groups studied by the Committee, the goal is essentially the same—the seeking of information that will contribute to an understanding of adolescents, of their daily problems, of their conflicts, anxieties and needs."¹

The interviewer's information about the individuals who appeared in his office consisted solely of the relatively impersonal data taken from personnel record cards. In order to select the subjects for the study a vast number of these records was carefully examined and a representative sample of the total group approxi-

¹ Committee on the Study of Adolescents, "Report on the Study of Adolescents Employed by the National Youth Administration" (mimeographed), 1937, p. 1.

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mated. An equal number of boys and girls was selected and the age limit was set at nineteen in order to bring the age range closer to the other groups being studied by the Committee. Any remark on a personnel record such as "very unstable," "neurotic," "needs psychiatric care," automatically ruled out the subject, thereby restricting the study to the so-called normal adolescent.

Participation of the young people selected was secured by a letter from the local director of the National Youth Administration, which read as follows:

My dear Miss —, or
Mr. —

Would you be good enough to come to our office on Tuesday, October 27th, at — A. M. This appointment has nothing to do with your job.

If you cannot come at this time, please telephone Miss — at — so that she can arrange for an appointment at some other hour.

For your convenience, I am enclosing carfare tickets.

Yours sincerely,

At the first interview the subject was told the purpose of the study: to find out how young people evaluate their school experiences. This evaluation, it was explained, would be used as a basis for recommending improvements in the secondary-school curriculum. Coöperation in the study was completely voluntary, and it was made explicit that no material benefit could be expected. The hope was expressed that the subjects would find these interviews interesting and that perhaps the worker would be able to assist them in thinking through some of their problems.

The worker made clear that he had no connection with the National Youth Administration and that it was only through the courtesy of this organization that he had a room in the Administration's offices. Above all it was stressed that the names of individuals participating in the study were unknown to the Administration staff and that the interviews were confidential.

The technique considered to be best suited to the purpose of the study was the free conversation interview. While the lead in the conversation was preferably given to the individual being interviewed, the worker did not hesitate to share experiences in a serious, joking, or humorous manner, as the situation demanded.

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"The free conversation interview required a constant and even interest on the part of the observer regardless of what topic occupied the subject's attention. The interviewer had to be interested because no matter how trivial the conversation was the subject revealed something of himself in the conversation—perhaps links between associated areas, an interesting slip of the tongue, or the degree of triviality occupying a given subject's mind."²

Weekly interviews were conducted over a period of several months. Termination of the interviews was gradual, and so planned as to minimize any reaction that might unduly perturb the emotional life of the individual. Mary came to the office with slight irregularities for a period of about seven months, Joe over a period of four months.

These two cases are reported in such detail in this volume, not because they are intended to portray problems of an unemployed group, but because the interview situation in which they were studied offers an unusual opportunity for observing and understanding adolescent personality. In the two cases previously discussed evaluation of the material was rendered difficult by many factors: the multiplicity of individuals reporting on Betty and Paul, the varying nature of the situations, and the widely differing times at which observations were made. In the case of Mary and Joe, many of these variables have been eliminated. Information is obtained from one source only, and given to one person; content is determined by the subject himself, for the most part, and can be studied in relation to time and to the interviewer's responsiveness or initiative regarding questions, comments, and opinions. Communication takes place in a relatively defined and unchanging setting; it is restricted largely to oral expression, and recorded in such a way that associative links of thought and feeling are preserved. The influence of the worker, who necessarily enters the situation as a causative element for many of the subject's responses, can also be evaluated: a description of his personality is available, his underlying philosophy is known, and his participation is recorded. His rôle, revealed in the subject's positive and negative reactions to him, makes it possible to understand better the many

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

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shifting attitudes, interests, and behavior of the person interviewed. Changes in the relationship of the subject to the worker, as well as sequence, emphasis, contradictions, and repetitions of ideas, are revealing. Attention to these factors facilitates interpretation of the data and makes each part of the material meaningful and related to the total process recorded.

The interviews are not given here in their full length: available space has set definite limitations to even approximate completeness. Condensation of the original material, however, was undertaken with great care. Special attention was given to keeping the relation between worker and subject in its original form. Furthermore, those processes which could be traced and understood on the basis of the limited material were kept in their coherence, and preference was always given to topics initiated by the subject rather than conversational topics introduced by the worker. Sequence and repetitiousness were considered important and wherever possible were left in their original context.

The Case of Mary

I. Interview Records

SUMMARY OF NOTATIONS ON MARY'S PERSONNEL RECORD CARD

The information which was available to the worker at the opening of the interviews is given here in summarized form. The data were collected from questionnaires, devised by the National Youth Administration and routinely administered to all who applied for Part-time Project jobs.

I. *Identifying data*

Age at opening of interview: 18-3
Birthplace: city where Mary lives at present
Religion: Catholic
Marital status of parents: separated
Birthplace of parents: city where Mary lives
Members of household: mother, brother, Mary
Age of brother: 19-10
Occupation of mother: housewife
Occupation of father: musician
Occupation of brother: NYA Part-time Project
Occupation of Mary: NYA Part-time Project
Relief status: home relief

II. *Education*

School attended: coeducational public school
Degree: high-school diploma
Major subjects: languages (Spanish, French)
School being attended at present: evening college

III. *Income used*

To seek job: "carfare"
To help family: "full amount to mother"
To purchase clothes: "mother buys"
For education: "books, carfare"
Recreation: "no chance"

IV. *Comments*

1. Mary commented on the NYA job as follows: "Helps socially. Gives one a start and confidence as one feels so timid in having no

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experience." 2. Summary of remarks made orally by Mary to her NYA supervisor: Spends all free time studying. No need for party clothes. Likes to be with family when free from school. Gets lunch home. Fond of dancing and children.

INTERVIEWS

First Interview

Duration: 30 minutes

January 6, 1937

Time of Arrival: prompt

Mary is a very small, rather plump girl, eighteen years and three months of age. She wears glasses; the right lens has a big crack right across it.

At first she was friendly but quiet. As the worker explained his purpose in the study, her face became more and more animated. Twice she said, very enthusiastically, "This sounds interesting. We're going to have a lot of fun talking about these things."

Both her parents were born in the United States. They are Catholic. She did not mention their racial descent.

Second Interview

Duration: 2 hours

January 13, 1937

Time of Arrival: prompt

Mary was very responsive today, smiled frequently, and seemed quite relaxed. She is really quite a nice-looking girl, yet a bit childish: her complexion is very wholesome and pink; her curly brown hair is tied back and hangs a little below her shoulders.

In compliance with the stated purpose of the interview, she began to discuss her school experiences. As a child, she was bashful, and afraid of going to kindergarten. This shyness persisted. In high school, when absent at the beginning of the term, she was too self-conscious to ask the teachers for help. There were counselors in the school and "they were all right" but she couldn't approach them. They were terribly burdened with work, she said, particularly at the beginning of the term, when one needed them most, and could give students very little time. Mary's relatively smaller size made her timid with high-school classmates too: "I

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felt toward them like a serf toward a nobleman." Most of the students were much more grown up than she, so that it was hard to associate with them. Whenever she had to speak in class or before a group, she became paralyzed with fear. In the belief that dramatics might help to overcome this, Mary applied for admission to the Dramatic Club. This was the most painful experience of her high-school career. The teacher in charge told her that she could not join: she had not done sufficiently well in her academic studies; besides, she had a lisp, which would interfere with stage work. Extremely dejected, Mary went home and cried all night. She had never thought she lisped, and to be rejected by the teacher in front of a girl friend, who "gloated" over her failure to get into the club, was more than she could bear. The worker said, quite truthfully, that he found Mary's voice very pleasant and free of speech peculiarities. He asked her if she could recall anything which had contributed toward making her so shy in childhood. She could think of nothing specific; she then added that youngsters often became withdrawn and shy when there was friction in their home.

At the age of sixteen, Mary was graduated from high school. The most pleasant event of the four years occurred on Senior Day, when she was permitted to take the teacher's place in history and art. She now attends college at night, three evenings a week, from 7:30 to 10:30 P. M. She takes economics, government, which she doesn't like, and Spanish, which she enjoys very much. The evening course requires six years for completion; at the end of this term, Mary will have finished two. After graduation, she plans to teach Spanish or to obtain a position as Spanish interpreter with some firm dealing with South American countries.

Mary belongs to the Dramatic Club at college. However, she has done no reading before the group because she is too self-conscious. She wanted to be in one of the plays, but the students wouldn't give her a definite rôle. "I'm awfully ashamed about it. Oh, well, I've told you so much about myself, it really doesn't matter. Do you know what they wanted to do? They wanted to put me in a mass scene, where I'd have no lines at all to say." She has also joined the Writers' Club. Most of the members are much more advanced than she and tell her over and over again that her

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poems are too immature and too simple to be accepted. The writings they publish are pretentious and artificial, she feels. As proof of her statement, she showed the worker a recent issue of the club's publication. She still believes that she may possess some talent in writing, but isn't very hopeful about impressing many people with her efforts. She added, shyly, that she might bring some of her poems to the worker: "You know, one's deepest secrets come out in poetry."

Mary believes that there is one talent which she possesses in marked degree, an understanding of people. "That is why I want to be a teacher, because I understand people so well; and because I know myself so well." Her weaknesses, as she sees them, are a poor memory and a frequent failure to understand what people say or what she reads.

The college Mary attends is coeducational. On the whole, she thinks coeducational schools are better. "Although," she added, "I'm old-fashioned. I don't like most boys because they're not courteous enough with you. And yet, if you make it clear to them that you expect courtesy, they like it. I don't think boys like girls who behave too freely with them." On the other hand, if the school were for girls only, she might be more likely to find teachers who really like girls, and to have a closer relationship with them. At present, contact with her mother is limited to Sundays, because college work and her NYA job so crowd her schedule.

Mary made very little reference to her parents today. They were born in this country, her father's family having come from Sicily and her mother's from Albania.

Third Interview

Duration: 2 hours

January 20, 1937

Time of Arrival: prompt

Mary arrived with a new hairdress, and asked whether she was late. She always tries to be prompt, she said, and always remembers her appointments. "Oh," she added, "I forgot to bring along the things I wrote." The worker assured her that it didn't matter; he'd be glad to see them any time.

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He asked Mary about the Dramatic Club. She doesn't attend at present, but plans to do so next semester. "I don't think I'll be so shy next time, and I'll be able to read my things aloud." Just now she has very little free time; she spends it doing housework or just being by herself. Most people, she thinks, are entirely too dependent upon the company of others. Several days ago, for example, one of the girls in the office remarked that she was very glad to see Mary come in, she did so dislike being there all alone. "Well," Mary retorted, "you must have a very disagreeable personality if you yourself can't stand being alone with it." She laughed. "It does one good to say what one really thinks at times."

The worker asked if she ever went out with boys. "Oh, no. I don't have a boy friend, if that's what you mean. I'm not interested in them." If you have one boy friend, she went on, you go out with him all the time. Then you get bored with him, but can't break away. It's far better to go out with the same boy only occasionally; in that way you meet many boys, and can be more certain that the one you finally pick out is the type that really appeals to you. Besides, boys can think of only one thing; to take girls to a movie or a dance. It never occurs to them to visit museums or similar places of interest. Dancing is fun, but it ought not to take up all of one's interest.

Most girls are too obviously interested in boys, she continued, and give this away by dressing very flashingly and using too much rouge. "Of course, I want to be nice-looking, but I try not to go too far. For instance, I think my hair is quite nice. Maybe you've noticed that I've changed my hairdress." A few days ago, a girl in the office remarked to her that people who fuss with their hair necessarily spend a great deal of time before the mirror and must therefore be very conceited. "One has to make the most of what one has," Mary retorted. "Of course, if one doesn't have anything to make the best of, one is naturally jealous of others."

Of all the girls in the office, Mary is the only one who attends college; very little recognition is given to this fact, she feels. She thinks she is a good speller, by far the best in the office; yet, in cases of doubt, the supervisor invariably asks the other girls for the correct spelling, and never her. These girls, like most girls, are

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very shallow in their interests. Boys are equally shallow. They don't expect anything really worthwhile from a relationship with girls. Her Uncle John is very different from most men in this respect; he's very happily married, and Mary admires him and his wife a great deal. Uncle John is very friendly with his daughter, too. In Mary's own case, her mother has always slightly favored her brother, Phil, who is a year older than she, and has given him more freedom than she has given to Mary.

The worker asked Mary if she and her father had a closer relationship than her father and Phil. "I never know what to say when people ask me about my father," she said. "Well, I've already said so much about myself, I might just as well tell you." Her parents separated four years ago. Mary has been greatly embarrassed about their failure in marriage, and finds it a very painful subject, she said. The worker told her about his sister's divorce, and how his niece had gradually recovered from the painful experience. Thereupon, Mary began to speak more freely. Her parents had quarreled for a long time, she said, and could not get along, although her father always said that Mary's mother was the best wife and mother in the whole world. Her father was quite a gifted musician and had an artistic temperament; she thinks she gets her interest in art from him. If he wanted to get a divorce, that was his business. But it wasn't fair to Mary's mother, nor to her and her brother, to go off and leave them. He has never helped them financially. Formerly, the family was fairly well off; her parents definitely planned to send her and Phil through college. Now she and her brother are the only wage earners. Phil, too, is employed on an NYA project. Her mother is trying to locate Mary's father, and even has a warrant out for his arrest for non-support. She has no idea where he is; she knows only that he went south with a chorus girl.

Uncle John, Mary now amended, is not really happily married at all, but decided to stay married for the sake of his daughter, Rose. He is very much attached to Rose and goes out of his way to be courteous and attentive to her. Whenever they come to visit, Uncle John always helps Rose with her coat and always gives Rose more attention than he does to anyone else. Mary admires Uncle John for staying with his family. Her own father

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came from a broken home and certainly ought to know from his experience what that means to the children.

She stopped talking abruptly. The worker expressed interest in the repairing of Mary's broken lenses and discussed with her how she could obtain reliable and moderately-priced service. She left in a very friendly mood.

Fourth Interview

Duration: 45 minutes

January 27, 1937

Time of Arrival: 1 hour late

Mary walked in, smiled broadly, and announced, "I'm late, as usual." The worker remarked that this was really the first time, that she had kept her previous appointments very promptly. She said that she was very tired and tense, because she was right in the midst of her final examinations, and then launched forth into a lengthy account of her subject choices for next semester.

Finally she paused, beamed at the worker, and said, "You haven't noticed that I've had my glasses fixed. Before, everybody noticed the crack in them; now that they're all right, nobody notices." The worker indicated great pleasure in the improvement. "One girl did tell me that my face looks much more open now," Mary commented.

"I went to a meeting of the Writers' Club," she added, "and took along one of my poems." She showed the poem to a girl, who liked it very much and urged Mary to give it to the president of the club, so that he might read it aloud that evening. The president read his own poem and several others, but he didn't mention hers at all. After the meeting she walked up to him and quietly retrieved her poem. She was very much hurt because it hadn't been read, but said nothing about it. She had planned to bring her poems to the worker this morning, but was in such a hurry that she couldn't take time to look for them.

At this point the worker suggested a girls' club in the city, which he thought Mary might like to join. He encouraged her to continue with her writing of verse and with her dramatics, and advised her not to let herself become discouraged by criticism. She seemed quite elated at the worker's approval and said that she planned to spend more time in these activities.

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Fifth Interview

Duration: 2 hours

February 3, 1937

Time of Arrival: 35 minutes late

Wearing a still different hairdress and smiling brightly at the worker, Mary came in, saying, "I'm late again." She seemed very animated, and talked freely.

In reference to the worker's suggestion of last week, she said that she was very much interested in the club he had recommended, particularly in the dramatics and dancing offered; but she had decided that it would be better to take a business course sponsored by the WPA. She plans to study typing and stenography, "so that I can get a job in any office. I'm trying to have an egg in every nest."

This additional work will give her a very full schedule, but she feels much more cheerful when her time is completely taken up with various activities; otherwise, she becomes discouraged and depressed. The business course will meet from four to five-thirty, four times a week; college classes are scheduled from six-thirty to nine-thirty on the same evenings. Her time is less limited during the day: she works on her NYA job Tuesday and Thursday, from nine to three-thirty; on Monday, she attends church from two to three; on Wednesday she comes to this office. Saturday is a very busy day, too; she mends her clothes and catches up on all the things that have been neglected during the week. She manicures her nails, has her mother wash her hair, and does "all the things a girl has to do." On Saturday evening, she goes to the movies or has a date; but she hasn't had one for a long time. Once a month she goes to confession; she "just hates Sunday."

Mary could, if she wished, spend Sunday with her girl friends, she said. But she doesn't enjoy doing that: girls always speak about themselves; there is never an interesting discussion about anything else. "Then the adults come in sometimes, and you have to listen to them." Neither does she like to go to dances with these girls; they all have their steady boy friends, whereas she has none. Not one of them ever thinks of inviting an extra fellow

MARY

for her. Besides, she doesn't like to dance in some of the places to which they go; the music is not so good and she doesn't like the kind of dancing they do. Ordinarily, dancing appeals to her a great deal and she never gets tired of it. Once she danced for four hours straight. She was the only girl able to do this. The dances held by the Knights of Columbus are the ones she enjoys most. The music is very good and there are always more fellows than girls, so that she is constantly on the floor. She has met several very good dancers there, and there's nothing like a dance with a good partner. But no matter how good a dancer a boy may be, she gets tired of dancing with him all the time. She can't understand why it's so much the thing nowadays for a boy and girl who are going out steadily to dance with each other exclusively. She doesn't see why one has to have a steady boy friend at all.

What she dislikes most about boys is that they always want to kiss a girl the very first time they go out with her. "Otherwise, they probably think they're not getting their money's worth." Then she said, with a smile, that if she were very fond of a boy and knew that he was fond of her, she would let him kiss her. But she resents very much that kissing and necking have become a necessary part of the evening whenever two young people go out together. Occasionally she referred to these young people as "men and women." Each time this happened, she became somewhat embarrassed and hastily added, "Well, I really mean boys and girls."

Several months ago, she said, she met a man who was a very prominent orchestra leader. He lived in a neighboring city, but once drove all the way out to her house in his Buick. She liked him very much, and liked the Buick. She was very much impressed when he told her that he had driven such a long distance just to see her. But very soon after his arrival he wanted to kiss her. She resented this. He tried in various ways to make her agree to kiss him: first he pleaded with her; then he "started to work on my emotions" by pretending that he was very lonesome and in need of sympathy; finally, he threatened that he would never see her again. But Mary remained adamant. If a boy were really

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fond of a girl, she thought, he would not be so persistent in wanting to kiss her; he would be more considerate of what the girl wanted, would watch to see what pleased her, and would then act accordingly.

Once she had a real boy friend, Al, who took her out steadily. "I'm ashamed to say this, but he kissed my hands and that is so nice!" This was a much better approach, she thought, than that which boys usually have; it showed his real respect and fondness for her. Then one evening as they were returning home, Al took her arm and said that he just couldn't resist the temptation to kiss her. "I said very dramatically (you know how I like to act sometimes), 'Let me go!'" She broke away from him and went home by herself. She was really quite fond of Al, and thought that he was fond of her too. For a long time she expected to hear from him and waited for a letter. But he never wrote. "You know, that's very funny, but for some reason boys don't like to write letters. Maybe they think that letters are evidence against them, and that girls might use them in a lawsuit."

"Women, I mean girls, when they fall in love, think of nothing except their boy friend and their love. Boys always manage to have other interests besides their love." She sighed. "I guess all men are that way. They always have either their club or their business or something else to take them away from home." Boys are interested in dancing and taking a girl out occasionally; but for a real good time, she complained, they get together with a group of boys and never let their girl friends in on these parties. Girls share with boys, she believes, much more than boys do with girls.

At this point in the interview the worker's secretary entered and announced that the person who had the next appointment was waiting. Mary seemed definitely reluctant to leave: she started to talk about a new topic, her enjoyment of swimming. This coming summer she plans to go to the beach very often, because she has quite a nice backstroke, "other people have said so," and because she wants to acquire a good coat of tan. She added, speaking rapidly, that she is also very fond of music, but is not interested in studying piano, because it takes too long to learn to play really well. There is, she said, a new method that teaches

MARY

one to play in a much shorter time. When she was little, her father used to give her and Phil piano lessons; but he became annoyed with her because, although she enjoyed the lessons, she didn't want to practice. Her father, she said with great pride, had taught her not the short method, but the "real artistic way" of playing piano.

Immediately after this she exclaimed, "Oh, I completely forgot; I brought my poems along." The worker said that he would be very glad to see them, but Mary objected, "Oh, no, it's too late now. You have someone else waiting for you." The worker asked whether she would not leave the poems with him. She agreed very readily.

Three of the eighteen poems are given here; those selected are fairly typical of the complete set.

Stand-up

It's seven o'clock, time she got dressed.
Her new date is coming—she must look her best.
She has gotten new slippers, her hair has been waved.
She'll wear that new dress that she has saved
For that special occasion, someone to impress,
So he might like her more, not regard her less.
It's eight! On the dot! She's ready and waiting.
Her mother at 8:05 with her is debating.
"He must have forgotten."
"He wouldn't forget!"
"Maybe he won't come."
"He will! Not just yet."
She goes to the window, he isn't in sight.
If he doesn't come 'twill be a sad plight.
While looking and wondering where he can be,
She wears a sad look, hopes Mother won't see.
At ten she decides that she'll get undressed
Might as well catch up on much needed rest.
Says good-night to the folks, off to bed she does start.
She takes off her finery with a sinking heart.
When all are in bed, her room Mother enters
On her sad, sleeping daughter her sympathy centers.
She's thinking, men always cause sorrow for women,
No matter how great, they're always forgiven.
But it's just women's way, they are sent from above,
With the trait of just worshipping men whom they love.

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Real Love

It's an evening in June, every star is so bright,
The moon is enchanting, it's a wondrous night.
A boy and a girl are sitting together,
Both are quite bashful, and are wondering whether
They finally will kiss; they hope 'twill be so,
She's wishing the time will not come when he'll go.
They both hear a love song a radio is playing,
At that very moment he boldly is laying
His hand upon hers which he finds is quite cold,
That's an excellent reason for him to hold
The girl in his arms, they're both full of bliss
Before she can stop him, he gives her a kiss.

While their lips are blending even time stands still,
Every caress he gives her for both is a thrill.
They are in Paradise, and are so sad,
When the time comes for parting he wishes he had
Just one more hour to show that his love
For her really was true just as Heaven above.
But he knew that some day he would never have to go.
They would be married and then 'twould be so
That he and his loved one would never part.
Till fate, in her cruel way, stopped his or her heart.

Men

What makes men different from women?
That's not hard to answer.
It's the abominable ego in them,
It destroys all its victims like the dreadful cancer.
I'll be more explicit so you'll understand
My reason for hating them; everyone alike
When they meet someone pretty and young, they're just grand!
For the time being their self-centered interest's on strike.
They chase and pursue her until she falls
And it just so happens at that time they meet
Someone younger and prettier usually at dance halls
You know that tho pretty, they're far from being sweet.
While the nice girls are crying and sad all alone
The unworthy cads forget they exist
They're not even considerate enough to phone.
So, in the group of girls with broken hearts she enlists
They go on their ways never caring a bit
They "love 'em and leave 'em" and think it quite neat

MARY

Because with the fair sex they make such a hit.
As time goes by, which no one can beat,
Tho' their make-up may change, staid will be their conceit.

Sixth Interview

Duration: 1 hour

February 10, 1937

Time of Arrival: 30 minutes late

Mary remained for an unusually short time this morning. She continued to discuss her courses at college until the worker referred to the poems she had left with him. Then she said that she had actually experienced the situation described in "Stand-up," had been very much upset by the incident, and had written the poem shortly thereafter. She had written another poem, "Fickle Freddie," after observing a married man flirting with young girls at a party. This recollection initiated a lengthy tirade against the fickleness of men. Mary is convinced that men try to make as many conquests as they can, that they rarely remain attached to a girl permanently, and that they lose interest in a girl as soon as they feel the girl has become attached to them.

At the end of the interview the worker suggested an inexpensive summer camp, conducted by the girls' club he had previously recommended. Mary was very enthusiastic and made a note of the camp's office address.

Seventh Interview

Duration: 2 hours

February 17, 1937

Time of Arrival: 30 minutes late

Today Mary began the interview by talking about her job experience. The first job she ever had was an NYA assignment, where she had to teach deaf children to dance. She had a very difficult time there because her supervisor took a dislike to her and criticized her constantly. Mary always tried her best to get along with this woman, but frequently found herself so upset by the supervisor's criticism that subsequently she did her job even more poorly. She was very glad when the transfer to another project went through.

On her present job Mary also finds it hard to get along with the supervisor and with co-workers. She recounted many in-

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stances of her difficulties in the office. Once, for example, she went to the rest room to apply some make-up. The other girls do this in the office, right in front of everybody. But Mary does not approve of this, and that is why she went to the rest room. When she came out, the supervisor made some remark about the excessive length of time she had been in there. Mary then made up her mind that she would go to the rest room as infrequently as possible. But this got her into trouble, because, the other day, she had to seal envelopes when her fingers were dirty from typing, and she soiled the envelopes. The supervisor reprimanded her for this, but Mary didn't dare to tell her how it had happened.

Everybody in the office regards her as a mere child, she complained; they fail to credit her with knowing anything at all. The girls often tell risqué stories and jokes. Every so often they say that they really ought not to tell these stories in front of Mary, because she's such a child and so very innocent. Mary has not been particularly shocked, yet she doesn't like the stories. However, in order to appear grown-up, she has always tried to laugh when they were told. Whenever she did so, one of the girls would say that Mary was only pretending to be innocent and that she really enjoyed the stories as much as the rest of them. Mary was incensed at the accusation; the girls in the office are "very catty," she declared, and "love to get something on you."

This led her to a discussion of relations between girls and boys. She herself is really very little interested in boys; "Men are just a means to an end." Immediately after saying this, she put her hand over her mouth, laughed with some embarrassment, and said she really didn't mean that; what she meant was, that in order to be able to dance, she had to go out with boys, but she wasn't really interested in them. She thinks she's not at all ready for marriage yet; she's just "a student of human nature." She likes to go out with many different boys, for she soon becomes tired of the same one. It isn't that she's fickle, because she doesn't even flirt with the boys; she just becomes bored very soon with their conversation and their interests. Again she complained that boys always want to kiss a girl; that they are too insistent about it; and that they always want to do so after a very short acquaintance. She kissed a boy only once in her life and didn't enjoy it. Kissing,

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she thinks, is a very crude way of expressing one's affection; there are many more desirable ways of showing admiration and affection for another person.

She then said that she is very fond of her mother and tells her everything. Immediately she corrected herself; she tells her mother "almost everything." They frequently discuss Mary's going out with boys. Her mother trusts her implicitly and knows that she would not do anything wrong.

Next week Mary will be unable to come because she has made a date to go somewhere with another girl. She will return to this office in two weeks.

Eighth Interview

Duration: 2 hours

March 3, 1937

Time of Arrival: 15 minutes late

Mary was very animated and looked extremely well today. She said with real enthusiasm that she enjoys her professors at college ever so much this semester. School work keeps her very busy, however; she has already worked on her lessons this morning and still has a great deal to do.

She is trying very hard, she said, to get a full-time job; if she gets one, she will still be able to continue her college work at night. Her brother Phil is also trying to get a full-time job, in place of his NYA assignment. But it is extremely difficult to get any job without pull.

After some elaboration of this last point, she began to speak of dancing. She has not danced for a long time because she has no one with whom to go out. She spent a long time talking about different steps in dancing and about music, which she enjoys very much. Jazz appeals to her particularly, but she is very discriminating and likes only certain kinds of jazz. She considers herself a good dancer, and a good teacher of dancing, too. She has taught any number of boys to dance. Now, when she sees them occasionally and notices how well they dance, she thinks with pride that they were her pupils.

Mary has a date for the May dance. Jim, the boy who invited her, has taken her to dances several times before. But they don't get along well together because they are both "too independent."

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He is very inconsiderate and fails to carry her umbrella or any package she happens to have. Then she becomes angry and begins to act very "independent" too; twice she has gone so far as to leave him at a dance and go home with somebody else. Once Jim was particularly angry with her because, while going home in a car, she was seated in the front between two boys. The car was crowded, so that one of the boys had to put his arm around her. She was eating a banana at the time and offered some of it to the boys who were sitting with her. Jim became furiously angry because the back seat was full of girls and Mary had the two boys with her. She laughed. Something like this happens, she said, whenever she goes out with Jim.

However, Jim is really an excellent dancer and is also very handsome. In a way she likes to go with a handsome boy, just as any girl does, but she thinks it's very wrong for people to pay so much attention to appearance and looks. For "her man" she wants to pick out someone who is fairly good-looking, but not really handsome. Handsome boys are always chased by other girls and are also quite conceited. "Appearance is important, but personality and 'moral ideals' are much more important." Here she covered her face with her hands. "It's really quite terrible to say it, but I like blond men." Once more she apologized for her preference, but the worker encouraged her to talk some more about it. She is always particularly struck, she said, when she looks at some man from the back and sees that he has blond hair. She always thinks, "He must be a wonderful man." She doesn't like straight hair on blond people, because it makes them look weak; and she doesn't like blue eyes either. The most handsome men are those who are tall and slender and have curly blond hair and brown eyes. She doesn't know why she has this preference, she said, but "I have always been drawn to such men."

Returning to the subject of dancing, Mary repeated that it's very hard for her to find people with whom to go to dances. There's nothing she likes so much as dancing. But the girls are very funny; they'll make a date to go to a dance with her, and then break it at the last minute. Another thing which annoys her is that, if she does go out with a girl, as soon as they meet a boy, the girl monopolizes him and ignores Mary to the point of refus-

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ing to answer her questions. It's really all right, Mary thinks, for a girl to go to a dance alone; but it isn't done, and her mother would think it was terrible. To wish for something very hard, like going to a dance, and then not to have it happen, is really agonizing, she went on. Sometimes, after wishing for something very hard, it comes true but then Providence punishes you, and you don't have as much fun as you expected to have.

She then began to speak of the Catholic religion. Although she is a Catholic, she said, she is not as narrow-minded as a girl friend of hers. This girl friend says that everybody at college tries to corrupt her and to make a communist or an atheist out of her. She must be very shaky in her religious beliefs, Mary feels; otherwise she wouldn't be afraid of talking to other people about such matters. Mary herself would like to study philosophy; she feels that it would not shake her faith in Catholicism and that she would find the various philosophies very interesting. She believes, too, that the study of philosophy might facilitate understanding of all her other subjects.

This brought her to the topic of suicide. With a shy smile, she said that it was funny, almost everyone thought of suicide at some time. She discussed something else for a few minutes, and then, very suddenly, said that she would just have to go dancing pretty soon, and that she was going to make every effort to find someone with whom she could go. She left in a very cheerful mood.

Ninth Interview

Duration: 2 hours

March 10, 1937

Time of Arrival: 10 minutes late

Almost immediately after she arrived this morning, Mary announced that she had gone to a Knights of Columbus dance on Sunday and had had a marvelous time. She and a girl friend, Louise, went together, but each became acquainted with a boy at the dance and went home separately with the boys. Perhaps this "wasn't quite the right thing to do"; she and Louise should have gone home together, but, anyhow, they didn't.

She described the new boy friend, John, in glowing terms. He was an excellent dancer and had an unusually pleasing person-

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ality; "he was blond, too." After the dance John took her to a restaurant where she had a rarebit and a cocktail. It was quarter to four when she reached home. She supposed, she said, that she shouldn't have let John spend so much money on her; he told her during their conversation that his mother had to have an eye operation, and that he had had to pawn two of his suits. He has a full-time job somewhere.

Mary has another date with John for next Sunday and is thrilled about it. At least six times during the interview today she exclaimed, "Just think! It's only four days off!" At the dance, she confided to John that she goes to college at night. John turned to a friend of his and said, "Just listen to this. My future wife will be a college student." "College graduate, you mean," Mary corrected. She added immediately that they had, of course, merely been joking.

She recounted the various little incidents which had taken place during the evening. When John took her home, she let him kiss her. She had not been kissed by a boy for such a long time, Mary explained, that it meant a great deal to her; now that she has been satisfied, she thinks she won't have to kiss a boy for several months. When she entered the house, her mother awakened and began to scold Mary for being so late. The argument almost developed into a serious quarrel. Her mother became particularly upset when Mary told her that she had let John kiss her. Mary explained to her mother that she had to have fun once in a while and that this kiss didn't mean anything serious. Her mother is really quite nice, she assured the worker; she always scolds Mary and then permits her to do what she wants to do. "That's the way a mother should be with her child, I mean with her daughter." She is very close to her mother and hates to lie to her.

She then began to talk about marriage. She is quite certain that she will never marry, because a happy marriage is such an unusual thing. She thinks that it's very important to marry a man who has money. If she ever does marry, she will want a man who earns a great deal, at least three hundred dollars a week. Many marriages turn out to be failures, in her opinion, because of financial difficulties and friction over lack of money. If a girl were married

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to a man who earned a great deal, she would still be comfortably situated in case of divorce. She herself would really prefer that her husband have a business of his own and be firmly established in the city, because then he wouldn't be likely to run away. Never in the world would she want to marry an artist or a musician: "It's very wrong for a man to be away evenings; it doesn't give him the feeling of having a home, and it leaves his wife in a very difficult situation, too."

Neither would she marry an Italian. Although nobody should be ashamed of his own racial descent, she said, she nevertheless looks down upon Italians. They do not adjust to American life; they cling to ways of the old country; besides, their attitude toward women is very dominating to the point of forcing upon girls marriages that they do not want. Although frequently very prudish, Italians often say all sorts of unsuitable things in front of their children. Italian young men, in particular, are conceited and very inconsiderate. She would never go out with an Italian boy. John is Irish.

She now assured the worker once more that she would never want to be married. A few minutes later, however, she remarked that every girl is chiefly interested in thoughts about her future marriage; whatever a girl may say, deep down inside herself she really hopes to marry some day.

As if she suddenly felt that she had been talking too freely about her personal affairs, Mary apologized to the worker because she had nothing to report about school. When she was still in high school, she said, she and her girl friends were quite interested in boys, but the latter were too young, and didn't pay any attention to them. This annoyed and disgusted the girls a great deal. Many of the boys regarded the girls as queer creatures, and the girls had the same attitude toward them. Now she feels that she really wants to understand men; that's why she likes to go out with so many different boys.

She wonders what the Catholic Church thinks about unmarried young people kissing each other. If she finds out that the Church is definitely opposed to it, she will stop and will never do it again. The worker remarked that he thought most priests had quite a liberal attitude toward such behavior and left these minor mat-

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ters to the decision of the individual. Mary responded to this at once. The Catholic Church is really becoming more and more liberal each year, she eagerly assured the worker; just last Sunday, for example, the priest spoke about marriage in his sermon and even went so far as to say that people should get married and have children, because otherwise the race would stop.

The worker replied that interest in the opposite sex and the desire for affection were deeply rooted in human nature. He expressed the wish that Mary would have a good time with John next Sunday. She seemed relieved that he approved of her having done so last Sunday and left in a very gay and friendly mood.

Tenth Interview

Duration: 2¼ hours

March 24, 1937

Time of Arrival: not stated

Mary apologized for having broken her appointment last week. She was, she said, very busy with school work and social activities; but she feels very guilty because she failed to telephone. Assured that the worker was not annoyed, she immediately began to discuss boys and dances. She had gone to a dance on both of the past Sundays, and this last Saturday as well; she has dates made for this coming Thursday, and for Saturday and Sunday.

The date for Thursday is with John. However, she has really lost interest in him and he no longer means as much to her as he did. It is really a terrible feeling to be very much interested in one person, she said. For example, for several days after she had gone out with John, she couldn't concentrate on her studies at all and found herself thinking about him all the time. Besides, every so often, when she was disgusted with her mother or something, she found herself thinking about John quite unexpectedly. One always has to pay for one's pleasure, she remarked, because something unpleasant usually happens afterwards.

Mary thinks that she lost interest in John partly because he really isn't the type of boy who can captivate her, and partly because of something which happened the last time they were out together. On their way to a dance, John stopped in front of a certain house and asked Mary if she would like to own a

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house like that with him. Mary replied that the house probably had eight rooms: John could have a room of his own, she would have one for herself, and they could have one room for the nursery. John then said that he thought they ought to have only one child, because then they could shower that child with attention and give him whatever he might need. Mary didn't like this conversation, she said, because she thinks that young people who know each other so slightly should not discuss marriage. Besides, her ideas about marriage differ a great deal from those of John. She thinks, for example, that one should have a boy and a girl rather than just one child. She didn't tell John what her real views were; she merely said that she wasn't interested in such conversation and that they had better hurry along to the dance.

There was still another reason for her annoyance with John; he thought they ought to kiss each other every time they parted. She laughed, "So many boys tell me that I would have a different attitude toward kissing if I were just a little older." Again she laughed. That, she said, is just a technique boys use on a girl, and a very naïve one. She usually tells these boys that she has nothing against kissing and that if she felt like kissing them, she would. But she becomes quite angry with any boy who tells her so, and, in order to hurt him, tries to give the impression that she doesn't care for him.

Her mother has a similar attitude toward Mary's boy friends. Mary has frequently sensed in her an inclination to be mean to men: it is quite obvious that her mother is definitely pleased when Mary hurts the feelings of some boy. Her mother feels this way, Mary believes, as a result of unfortunate experiences with Mary's father. "Because Mother's married life was unhappy, she doesn't want me to have a happy relationship with a man, either. You know, parents are very often jealous of their children." Many older people have a similar attitude, Mary believes, and oppose young people's having a good time because they resent the fact that they never had a good time themselves. And yet, she remarked several times, she and her mother are very close to each other and are very good friends.

Mary is always particularly pleased when the boy with whom

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she goes out is taller than she and calls her "My little one." This always makes her feel like a pet of his and makes her want to behave in a feminine way. The worker instituted some discussion of how people's behavior is influenced by what others expect of them. Mary agreed. She has frequently noticed that if she goes out with a boy who is quite masculine and who expects her to behave in a feminine way, she responds to his expectations and is, at times, quite unlike her ordinary self.

Last week John asked Mary to bring along another girl for his friend, but she was reluctant to do this, because John might be more attracted to the other girl than to her. Besides, she said slightly apologetically, she really hasn't any close girl friends. People have criticized her for this at times, but she feels justified; it's very difficult to be friendly with a girl because all girls are so catty. She has noticed that if she does have a girl friend with whom she spends a great deal of time, the friendship soon cools off. She prefers to see her girl friends only occasionally; then they're always glad to see her.

At this point Mary announced that she had recently written a new poem, but didn't know whether she ought to show it to the worker because he might feel that all she thinks about is love and boys. The worker said that her interest in boys was a natural one. Mary then stated that she enjoys these talks very much; it means a great deal to her to discuss these matters with a sympathetic and understanding listener. She thinks that "studying" the different boys with whom she goes out will enable her to choose a husband more wisely. The whole game between boys and girls is, she said, a very exciting one; the element of mystery in it intrigues her a great deal. For instance, she is looking forward to this coming Thursday, when she will again go out with John. Only recently John meant a great deal to her; he is still in love with her, she thinks, although she told him quite frankly that her attitude toward him had changed. She is interested to see how he will act on Thursday, whether he will be more friendly and attentive or not.

At present, Mary continued, she has hardly a free moment. She plans to relax during the summer by doing as little as possible. Whenever she just loafs around, she feels very guilty; yet she

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loves to do it. She plans to keep on going to college at night and to continue with her courses in typing and shorthand. She would like to have a college education and business training, too; then she would be able to fall back on either. She thinks she could qualify for a typist's job in any office right now; but her shorthand is still very poor and in need of further practice.

Eleventh Interview

Duration: 2 ¼ hours

March 31, 1937

Time of Arrival: not stated

Mary opened the interview by asking that she be reminded when it was eleven o'clock, because she has a great deal of homework to do; she usually stays until twelve. The worker noticed that she had changed her hairdress again.

She showed him a book entitled *Friendships of Women*, which she had found in the basement of her home among a stack of romantic novels and old classics. The books belonged to maternal relatives, a number of whom, unlike her father's family, had attended college. She spoke at great length about her attachment to her mother. She is closer to her mother than Phil, although Phil is much more like her mother than is Mary. Phil is not interested in girls, but likes to help her mother run the household, shop for food, and so forth. Her brother is nineteen. At home, they have discussed the advisability of Phil's getting a WPA job, but decided against it. The Home Relief allotment, which is \$58.00 a month, when supplemented by her own and Phil's NYA earnings, amounts to more than he could receive on the WPA. Phil is interested in radio and is getting some experience by working as a volunteer in a radio shop. The worker mentioned free training courses offered by the WPA. As usual, Mary ignored the suggestion.

She went on to speak about her college courses in a manner which suggested that she considered discussion of this topic a duty. She has been a "C" student consistently, but does not worry very much about her performance in school.

To help Mary overcome her obvious reluctance to talk about boys today, the worker asked whether she had enjoyed her Thursday date with John. In a bored tone of voice she replied

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that she had practically forgotten all about John; he was just like the rest, she discovered; he tried to argue her into kissing him and then accused her of being old-fashioned. She's not old-fashioned at all, she assured the worker; she just happens not to be interested in kissing. All the fellows want to kiss her; possibly, she thinks, because she makes them spend quite a lot of money on her. However, just because they spend money on her is no reason, so far as she can see, for letting them kiss her.

If she ever does let a fellow kiss her, she's quite disgusted with herself afterwards; she feels that she has lost something and has gained nothing. It's much better not to indulge in kissing and other forms of demonstrative behavior at all. In the first place, fellows always want more and more of it, and want to go farther; this she considers unwise. So far, she stated with considerable pride, she has succeeded in controlling herself. It is the security of this self-control which she loses when she permits a boy to kiss her.

There is another reason why she dislikes letting fellows kiss her: they are very likely to lose interest in a girl thereafter. Accordingly, she tries to make fellows have respect for her. She is certain that many boys who want to kiss a girl are inwardly glad when the girl doesn't give in. "I don't want them to go on their knees and worship me, but I do want them to have a respectful attitude. I've noticed that when I get too close to a fellow, I don't think nice . . ." She blushed, tapped her lips, and said, "I don't mean 'nice'; I mean I don't think very well; I don't think very clearly." It is best to love from a distance, she thinks, and to express love only with one's eyes.

She complained that after kissing a girl, most boys will begin to talk about something very practical; they are entirely too matter of fact. This spoils everything, Mary thinks, because it is so unromantic. "I always say that the best fellow is not good enough for the worst girl." The main fault with most boys is that they are so crude and unromantic. The worker asked Mary what she thought of most girls. They are the same way, she replied, too crude and too free with their kisses; but the boys are to blame for this because of their freshness and lack of chivalry.

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There are some quieter boys who are more interesting to her, but these, unfortunately, are so quiet that they never approach a girl nor talk to her; as a result, Mary has no chance to become acquainted with them. There are, too, boys who are really smart; but they're entirely too superior and condescending. At the Knights of Columbus hall, she meets boys of a non-intellectual type, and she really prefers them, because she learns a great deal about people and men through associating with them. She never stays with one boy for any length of time, because she soon becomes weary of him. Yet she never tires of meeting new boys. Every week she eagerly looks forward to Sunday, when she will meet new fellows and try herself out on them.

She and her girl friend, Louise, go dancing every Sunday now. Louise is very unlike Mary; she stays out late and lets boys kiss her. Mary would like to talk to Louise about the latter's point of view and ideas about things. But she is afraid to do so, because Louise may think that Mary disapproves of her behavior, and the friendship would then break off. Mary herself is very free in her conversation, perhaps freer than many other girls. As a result fellows respond to her very quickly, she thinks. But she is not at all free in her behavior, and this usually disappoints them. After all, she said, and she didn't say it defensively, she's not in any hurry to marry; she wants to meet as many boys as possible, have a good time with them, and also study them.

"I don't know why this comes to my mind just now," she said, "but on Sundays, after Mother has gone out, I like to spread my dress, and everything else I'm going to wear in the evening, all over the room; then I lie down on the couch and listen to music. Every once in a while, I like to take time off and do just nothing. Just like now, for instance. It's way past eleven o'clock [the worker had reminded her of the time] and I ought to do my homework. But this is so much more enjoyable than lessons; and I get a kick out of doing something which I really enjoy, at a time when I ought to be doing something else." Summer vacation is not so very far off, she said. Her mother is trying hard to save enough money to rent Mary a locker at the swimming pool. She hopes she'll be able to go swimming very frequently.

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Twelfth Interview

Duration: 2 hours

April 7, 1937

Time of Arrival: 1 hour late

Mary arrived with her hair arranged in still a different way. She spoke of her college work, saying that she particularly enjoys her teacher in government although none of the others like her; this woman "steps down" to the students' level and is, all in all, very "human." Spanish seems very difficult this semester, particularly the learning of vocabulary. The worker discussed with her a word-association device for memorizing words, but Mary thought this would not help her very much. She then complained that lately she cannot keep her mind on her studies at all and finds herself constantly day-dreaming in the classroom. In general, she said, she always finds it very hard to keep her mind on her studies during the fall and in the spring. In the fall, she keeps remembering the good times she had last summer; and in the spring, she looks forward to the coming summer. The middle of winter, she thinks, is the only really good time for studying.

She then mentioned Louise, with whom she goes to dances; she is becoming tired of Louise, too. At present, Louise spends a great deal of time with another girl, Anne, who goes out with a boy whom Louise used to know. Mary thinks it is quite tactless of Louise to devote so much of her attention to Anne while Mary is present, and to omit Mary from the conversation. "I don't want to say that I want bouquets thrown at me, but I do want some attention." Anyhow, she continued, she doesn't really need girl friends, because she has such a close relationship with her mother. For the most part, Mary feels, she usually puts up with too much from people and tries to be nice to them even when they bore or annoy her. It is only rarely that she dares to express her real feelings. From now on, she said, she is going to try to state what she feels immediately. Her mother has frequently pointed out that Mary becomes angry at the most unexpected moments, and quite out of proportion to the situation.

Last week she met John at a dance, and was very unpleasant to him and made a number of cutting remarks. John had failed to say "hello" to her the last time she saw him; that was why she

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did it. This time he definitely showed interest in her, so that she thought it was a good time to strike back at him. She never tries to hurt anybody first, she said a bit virtuously; but when someone hurts her, she tries to get back at him doubly hard. She is always alert to boys' attitudes toward her and always ready to strike back if they slight or ignore her. To be ignored makes her feel blue.

However, if she does feel blue, Mary has several devices by which she cheers herself up. She smells a bottle of perfume to recall good times she has had in the past; or clean linen to bring back thoughts of summer time and fun; or ivory soap. The smell of the latter reminds her of a very enjoyable trip she once took, her only trip to the country.

Mary then told the worker that she had interviewed a man about singing lessons; but his fee was too high, and her mother pointed out the rigors and self-sacrifice involved in becoming a singer. The worker informed her of free classes in which singing was taught and suggested that she investigate them if she were interested.

Thirteenth Interview

Duration: 2 hours

April 14, 1937

Time of Arrival: not stated

Mary entered the office looking animated and cheerful. She is much more communicative than she was at first. Today she had her hair changed again; it is now very fluffy and stands out in all directions. She also wore a different coat.

She mentioned with great enthusiasm her interest in a college boy who writes poetry of an overtly sexual nature. Her mother has broached the subject of sex to her several times, but has limited herself to mere hints, instead of discussing it frankly. Most of Mary's factual information concerning sex was obtained from books and from other girls. Even though the latter told her about menstruation, it was a great shock to her when it happened. She felt "as if the world was coming to an end" and she "almost wanted to die." Parents' assumption that their children do not think about sex, she said, made the children feel guilty for doing so. And this was very bad, because every child thought

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about it at one time or another. If parents would only recognize this, and discuss sex with their children, the latter would be saved much mental discomfort. The worker mentioned that young people usually have misgivings and conflicts about their own sexuality. "You certainly know exactly how people feel," she responded enthusiastically. However, she seemed reluctant to pursue the subject further, and dropped it.

Every so often, she remarked, when she discovers that other people have feelings which she used to consider peculiarly her own, she feels both pleased and insulted: pleased, because she is relieved and reassured to find that she is not peculiar; insulted, because it makes her seem less individual and therefore less unique.

Fourteenth Interview

Duration: 2 hours

April 21, 1937

Time of Arrival: not stated

Today Mary's hair was arranged in the same fluffy manner, but she wore a different coat and hat. The worker asked her whether the coat was new. She said that it was two years old, but that she was extremely fussy and careful with her clothes.

She complained of being tired: she has been going out "too much" lately and, besides, had walked to the office, because she wants to reduce. She then spoke of a boy whom she met a few weeks ago. He has a car, and he took her for a ride one afternoon. "Oh, but wait till you hear what he told me!" He said that he might as well be frank with her and tell her all about himself. He was thirty-one, a widower, and had a daughter seven years old. Mary was terribly shocked; she had thought him to be about twenty-five. She could not go out with him any more, she informed him. He is Italian and lives in her neighborhood; if she continued going out with him, all their neighbors would be sure that she wanted to marry him and would talk about it. She feels very strongly that she could not go out with a man who is married and so much older than she. She likes younger boys who do not think of marriage. This man would make a very good husband, she thinks; but she doesn't want to consider being married. It's too bad that she won't be able to ride in his car any more, but it just can't be helped.

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Besides, her mother disapproves when Mary thinks about boys too much or writes poems about them. This is an unwise procedure, Mary feels; in keeping children from thinking about such matters, parents both stimulate their children's interest and make them feel guilty about it. Parents are often unwilling, she continued, to see their children grow up. Sometimes she is worried that if she has a child of her own she may not bring it up in the right way. It frightens her to think of all the mistakes one can make with a child. One of her girl friends, Jane, has a social worker coming to her home. Once this social worker took Jane aside and urged her to be more independent of her family. By the time Mary herself is old enough to have a child, she hopes to have taken some courses in social work and in psychology. This will help her a great deal, she thinks.

She already feels more assurance on her NYA job; she can look people straight in the eye now, whereas previously she was much more shy. However, immediately after making this statement, she began a long tirade about the "cattiness" of the girls in the office. "I don't mean to say that I have feelings that I live among unfriendly people, but so many of them are really unfriendly." She added that although she is more self-assured now, her feelings are still very easily hurt.

The worker asked her to recall past situations which had wounded her feelings. She mentioned an experience involving her paternal grandmother: on Mary's First Communion, her grandmother presented her with one dollar, but gave ten dollars to a stranger. The grandmother has been mean to Mary's mother, too, and Mary hates her for it. She thinks "it's terrible when people are nice to outsiders but mistrust their own family." She also hates her father and her paternal uncle. The uncle "is not as pig-headed as my father, but he, too, is stubborn." She expressed very intense dislike for this uncle, and then began to speak about her father.

He had always been very difficult, she said. When Mary was fourteen, he left the family and began to live apart from them. The first year he stayed in the city and visited his wife and children rather frequently. Mary was the spunkiest of them all; whenever she felt annoyed with him, she expressed herself much

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more freely than did her mother or Phil. She told him that she was annoyed, and called him names. It made her particularly angry that he avoided discussing things and would try to pass matters off with a silly joke, or by not answering at all. She was very bitter when her father used to come to the house and look around to find some piece of furniture or other article that he could sell. Once she rebelled against this, and told her father openly that he had no right to do it.

Her mother scolded Mary and said that she ought never to be disrespectful to her father, but Mary felt so convinced she was right that she paid no attention to her mother's words. She thinks that her father liked her better than he did Phil or her mother, and that he really admired her spunkiness. Mary believes that her paternal grandparents know where her father is now and correspond with him, but do not want him to support his family. The father's desertion brought her mother, Phil, and herself much more closely together, Mary continued. Her mother got a job, and Mary and Phil did all the housework and prepared the meals. It was at this time that Mary became particularly attached to her mother.

She sat silent for a while, and then said that she is frequently hurt while riding in the subway, because some person comes in and sits down in some other empty seat, instead of in the one next to her. She always interprets this to mean that the person has taken a dislike to her. The worker explained to her that this was not necessarily true, and she agreed smiling.

Fifteenth Interview

Duration: 3 hours

April 28, 1937

Time of Arrival: 30 minutes late

As usual, Mary looked very cheerful this morning; she has changed her hairdress again. She spoke at length about the weather, and then showed the worker a love story which she liked, although it ended unhappily. Whenever she finds a nice, romantic story in a magazine, she cuts it out and saves it. She also saves some souvenir of every boy with whom she has ever gone out, even though she has invariably been disappointed in each of these boys in turn. She has a whole box full of such souvenirs.

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The worker asked Mary about her classes at college. She replied that there was nothing new. She still enjoys the course in government. At the last class, they discussed the spoils system, which most of the students thought had been completely discontinued. "I don't want to be cynical, but I think such things still exist."

She then reported that she was interviewed during the past week by a man at the NYA office, who offered her a full-time WPA job as a teacher of Americanization. She told the man that she was grateful for the offer, but preferred, since only one WPA job could be allotted to a family, that her brother be given the opportunity, especially if he could work in the field of radio. The man promised to see what he could do about it. Her mother was worried when Mary told her about the interview; she was afraid that they would assign Phil to some pick-and-shovel job, and thought Mary should have accepted the offer. Mary prefers to continue their present Home Relief status.

She met a new boy friend last Sunday; his name is Dick. He drove her home, and she sat with him in his open roadster, right in front of her house. They kissed. "It was a very long kiss," Mary added, smiling, "although Mother has warned me never to let any boy kiss me on the porch or in front of the house." Not that her mother objects to Mary's kissing boys; she merely doesn't want the neighbors to see. But Mary felt very daring Sunday night and didn't care about her mother's qualms. However, she didn't let Dick kiss her a second time, even though he pleaded with her.

The dance last Sunday was in honor of Mother's Day; all the boys wore carnations. She danced several times with a boy named Fred, whom she has known for quite a while. At the end of the dance, she noticed that Fred's heart was beating very rapidly and that he was out of breath. She commented upon it. He said it was due to her presence, to which she replied, "Oh, that's an old story." Then he said that he suffered from a leaking valve and had only a few more years to live. Mary was suddenly swept by a feeling of deep sympathy and tenderness for Fred and told him so. But he laughed shortly and said that nobody needed to feel sorry for him. During the evening, they teased each other a

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great deal: if anyone makes a cutting remark to her, Mary explained to the worker, she feels that she has to go him one better. Although Mary already had one carnation, she admired Fred's, which was white because his mother is dead, just to see whether he would give it to her. He did and asked her what she was going to do with the flowers. She turned on her heel, saying, "I'll keep them as souvenirs from suckers."

At every dance, Mary continued, boys choose as partners those girls who are on the floor most of the time; they assume that such girls are desirable. Gaiety on the part of a girl helps her to become popular, Mary feels. Good clothes are important, too; but she would like to know still other secrets of success. Lately she has become much more absorbed in boys than previously and thinks about them more than she does about her studies. Sometimes she wonders if they are not too much on her mind. The worker assured her that her interest in boys is quite natural.

About two years ago, Mary then confided, she went out in the park one evening with a boy. There they kissed each other several times. Afterwards the boy told her that she was very demonstrative, far more so than he was. This shocked Mary intensely. She began to feel very much ashamed of her behavior; she also felt angry with the boy and told him that she never wanted to see him again. Ever since that time she has been very cautious with boys, not permitting them, until lately, to kiss her more than once.

This was followed by a long account of the different rôles that Mary plays at various times with boys. She likes to vary the style of the clothes she wears, ranging all the way "from little girl's clothes to quite daring and sophisticated ones." Sometimes, she likes to combine the two; for instance, she will wear a sophisticated hat with a little girl's dress. She also likes to experiment with different types of demeanor and behavior in connection with the varying styles of dress. On occasion, for example, she likes to "act very sweet and innocent" while wearing a little girl's dress; at other times, while wearing the same dress, to "act sophisticated and blasé." She always watches afterward to find out which particular combination was most effective in getting her dates.

After a lengthy discussion of this topic, Mary remarked that,

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when her family is present, her behavior with strangers always undergoes some kind of change. It is extremely regrettable, she thinks, that in the family one always has to stick to the same rôle one played with them in the past, or to one which the family expects a person to play. In her own family, she said, she is the most assertive of them all. She spoke very critically of the way in which her mother and brother humbly comply with all the wishes of their relatives, and of the relatives who expect such compliance of them. Several times she said that it was terrible of her to speak so critically of her mother and brother and relatives, but they "did make her mad."

Her indignation then centered upon Rose, the daughter of Uncle John. Rose has much more money than she has and yet she is not as clever as Mary in choosing clothes or in fixing her hair. Rose goes out with only one boy; Mary interprets this to mean that Rose is not very attractive to other boys. Leaving the subject of Rose, she went on to speak at great length, and very fast and emotionally, about other maternal and paternal relatives: they are inconsiderate, she complained, and treat Mary and her family as though they were inferiors.

The worker remarked that there were differences of opinion in every family, and that a discussion of these differences did not constitute lack of loyalty to one's family. "One is always punished in life for every wrong one does," was Mary's reply. She asked the worker whether he too believed this to be true.

Sixteenth Interview

Duration: 2 hours

May 5, 1937

Time of Arrival: 35 minutes late

Mary showed the worker a number of sexual poems written by a college student, the brother of a girl friend. She said that she had brought them along last week but had forgotten to give them to the worker, and added that she herself found them shocking but interesting. She then presented a recently written poem of her own, obviously influenced by those of the boy student, whom she admires very much. She watched the worker's face intently as he read it and said it was the first one she had written in a long time. She finds herself in too many moods at present, but "If I am

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sad now, I can always think of something pleasant." The worker remarked that her literary efforts probably contributed to a sense of pleasure. She beamed.

Following a short pause, Mary said that this was a question she would like to ask: How did boys feel about girls who wore glasses? The worker said glasses were worn so commonly that people probably paid very little attention to them. Mary said that that was what she herself felt, but she had wanted to know what the worker thought about the matter. She went on to say that she always takes her glasses off when she goes to a dance, or goes anywhere with a boy. She feels that glasses would be most inappropriate if she were out with a boy on a moonlit night. She remembers that a boy tried to kiss her once and that she bumped into his glasses, a very unpleasant experience. She is very self-conscious about her glasses, she said, but has decided to wear them when she studies, in order that her vision may be corrected. As soon as she has enough money, she is going to buy herself a pair of pince-nez glasses.

The worker explained to Mary that people frequently feel anxiety about themselves and transfer their concern to glasses, their face, their teeth, and so forth. Mary kept nodding her head understandingly, and then remarked that she is always very self-conscious whenever she has to have a physical examination. When she was nine years old, she had a kidney infection which was quite serious and lasted for some time. People with that kind of infection are usually taken to the hospital, but her mother wouldn't let her go, and so she was treated at home. The family physician, Dr. Brown, used to come every day and examine her very thoroughly. She was never a bit embarrassed by the examination. Then she recovered and did not see Dr. Brown again for four years, during which time her physical development was rapid. At the age of thirteen, she became ill with a different ailment. Again Dr. Brown examined her. But this time she was so embarrassed by the examination, and so painfully disturbed, that she wondered about the reason for her change in attitude. She decided finally that the fact that Dr. Brown was a very handsome man had a great deal to do with her feeling.

It might be better, she confided to the worker, if adolescent

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girls, who were so conscious that their bodies were changing, could be examined by a middle-aged or older man doctor; they wouldn't be so likely to have mixed feelings toward the physician. She remembers very vividly how concerned she was about changes in her own body at that time. She used to watch herself very carefully, wondering all the time whether she was developing as she should. She was afraid of two possibilities: one, that she might be overdeveloped; the other, that she might be underdeveloped. Today, whether it is a man or a woman doctor who examines her makes little difference; she is extremely embarrassed in either case. However, she can understand why many girls prefer a man physician, she said; a man is so much more likely to be business-like about the examination.

She had another question that she wanted to ask the worker. "What is real love? How can you tell, when you're in love, whether it's real love or not?" So far, she said, she herself has fallen in love only mildly; she didn't lose any sleep over it, and it didn't last very long. She wonders whether there isn't something wrong about her attitude toward boys; at times she feels as if there were some interference. "Maybe it's something inside me." She is attracted to many boys and sometimes likes them quite well; yet she feels that she cannot fall in love with them. She is also disturbed because at the moment when she likes a boy very much, she becomes angry with him. The worker remarked that her mixed feelings for her father might have something to do with this. She nodded, but refrained from comment.

A few days ago, she then continued, a boy came to see her at her home. They were sitting on a couch in the living room, his arm around her, when she heard her mother's footsteps. She hastily removed the boy's arm from her shoulder. The boy resented this. But, Mary explained to the worker, for some reason which she herself could not understand, she didn't want her mother to see her in that position, even though she knew that her mother would not disapprove. Perhaps, she added, she shouldn't have taken the boy's arm away.

Sometimes her mother puts her arms around Mary. She always feels like withdrawing from her mother at such times. She has very similar feelings when she dances with a girl; for some

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reason, physical contact with a woman is often unpleasant to her. She thinks the reason is that she has found boys' embraces very pleasant and is aware that a woman's embrace is comparatively less pleasant; therefore, she doesn't enjoy it. Sometimes, when she edges away from her mother, or has an impulse to do so, she feels very guilty about it: it makes her fear that she is not as fond of her mother as she ought to be, or that she is disloyal to her.

Seventeenth Interview

Duration: 2 hours

May 12, 1937

Time of Arrival: 30 minutes late

Mary had her hair arranged in still a different fashion today. She wore a mannish grey coat, which was a bit large for her. She explained that the coat was her brother's; he sometimes allows her to wear his things. Occasionally she even puts on his socks; but he is likely to object to this.

Mary has been transferred to a new NYA job. She likes it better than her former job for two reasons: she gets more varied experience, and the office is more business-like than the previous one. She paused for a moment and said, "I wonder if they miss me at the old office."

She referred again to the college boy whose poetry she had shown to the worker. She would so much like to meet him and could do so very easily through his sister. But she is afraid: "He must be such a sophisticated, intelligent boy that he wouldn't be interested in me at all." Once she saw him playing tennis. "He's very tall and blond, and, you know, I like blonds." But he must be "very realistic" and since she is "so romantic," she is afraid that she will be hurt by him. "But the real reason why I don't want to meet him is that he'll see that I'm eager to make his acquaintance." Her obvious seeking him out, she feels, would make him "act independent." Then, if he acts independent, she will "be so much more apt to fall in love with him." She prefers to be independent because then she can always dismiss a boy whenever she chooses, or whenever he refuses to do something she wishes.

Right now she is worried about Fred, the boy who has a leaking valve. She spoke of him today with much more feeling than

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she usually does, and said that she doesn't know what to do about him. Sometimes when he looks at her in a certain way, she has a strong feeling of liking for him. She also feels sorry for him, because of his heart ailment. At other times, however, when he insists upon dancing very fast dances all the time, she becomes angry, because he pays no attention to her preference for slow dances. His constant wish to kiss her also annoys her. She resents this and has told him so. She also informed him that he ought to "say nice things" to her more often, to which he replied that "actions are stronger than words." The last time Fred took her home she let him kiss her, and "it was nice"; but she refused when he asked her for another kiss, and then parted from him with unpleasant feelings about the whole evening. She is probably too romantic for most boys, Mary said; her greatest fault is that she credits them with much more than they have to offer. At this point, she became very angry and announced that she was not going to go out with Fred again. "Why should I, if I don't have fun with him anymore?"

Fred has "a streak" which she has noticed in many other boys, and one which she resents very much. For example, once, while strolling with him in the park, they saw a couple of fellows walk up to a girl who was alone. The boys started to talk to the girl, and one of them took her by the arm. When the girl responded, the boys turned upon her rudely and said, "Why do you talk to us? You don't know us," and left the girl. Fred thought this was very funny. At another time, at a dance, some friends dared Fred to dance with a girl who always refused to dance. The girl accepted his invitation—he has such a casual and indifferent attitude toward girls that they always fall for him—and Fred began to lead her onto the floor. Suddenly, he dropped her hand and said, "Hell, I don't want you." Mary spelled the word, explaining that she never uses profane language.

Such behavior is common with many boys, she said. At a recent church social some boys walked up to a strange girl, started to talk to her, rebuked her for replying, and then left her. Mary can very well imagine how girls must feel when boys behave toward them in such a manner. "I am not cynical, but sometimes I really wonder if there is romance."

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Following some rather general conversation, the worker informed Mary that he was preparing to discontinue his work at this office and that henceforth appointments would be made at two-week intervals. He added that he had become very much interested in several of the young people studied, and expressed the hope that Mary would find time to visit him at home and tell him about her activities. Mary remarked that she had "learned an awful lot" through the study and would very much like to see the worker this winter. Some of her attitudes have changed, she said, in the course of the interviews; previously she regarded all men as "sexual and no good," but now she is much more open-minded about them and thinks "some men are really quite fine."

Mary thinks that her previous attitude toward men was influenced by her father's desertion, and by her mother, who fostered a distrust of men in her daughter because she herself had been so badly hurt by her husband. Her mother constantly blames "the nature of men" for marital unhappiness, and there is, Mary confessed, an element of retaliation in her own relationship with boys. Her mother has told her that the rift between her and her husband began when Mary was eight or nine; but Mary was not aware of it until she was about thirteen. Up to that time she had had quite a satisfactory relationship with her father. Later, however, he took no interest in his family, refused to attend the graduation ceremonies both when Phil and she were graduated from high school, and never took them any place at all. As she realized more and more that her father was drifting away from his family, she withdrew increasingly into herself and took to spending a lot of time in day-dreaming. It was then that her "romantic feelings" began to develop very markedly. When she learned that her father was interested in another woman, she adopted a very critical attitude toward him in particular and toward all men in general. She began to think of them as "sensual beasts," to whom only physical relations with a woman mattered. Simultaneously with this conviction, she became very stand-offish with her father: when he put his arms around her and wanted to kiss her, she felt that he was interested in her in a sensual way. She grew very hostile toward him.

With this Mary came to an abrupt pause in the conversation.

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After some general discussion she referred to the girls' camp that the worker had suggested several weeks ago. At present, she said, she is much more interested in boys and is easily annoyed by girls. For that reason, she prefers to remain in the city this coming summer and to rent a locker at the pool; her mother has saved \$10.00 for it. She left early, explaining that she wanted to buy a dress.

Eighteenth Interview

Duration: 3 hours

May 31, 1937

Time of Arrival: 30 minutes late

Two days before the date of her appointment Mary telephoned and asked to postpone her interview for three days; she explained that she was very busy studying for final examinations.

Today she was in a very cheerful mood. She showed the worker a newspaper which, she said, she had picked up in the subway. She burst out laughing; previously she had been too self-conscious to do anything like that, but now she can pick up a discarded paper in the subway quite brazenly.

Then she opened a magazine and displayed an advertisement for new lenses that can be inserted right under the eyelids. This, she said, was a grand solution for girls who have to wear glasses. If they were not prohibitive in price, thirty-eight dollars apiece, she would buy them. She disagrees with her mother that such lenses might be harmful to the eyes.

Her mother has been after her lately for failure to study for her examinations. However, her mother never scolds her for poor grades: she thinks that everybody should study for pleasure and knowledge, rather than for marks. The examinations are finished now, but Mary does not yet know her results.

Following a short pause Mary announced that she has met a new boy who is very, very nice. His name is Charles, and he is twenty years old. His last name and her first name would go together very nicely. Last Sunday she went to a dance with him and another couple. Both boys in the foursome were named Charles, "my Charles" and "the other Charles." Mary had a very good time, because "my Charles was very sweet and attentive and considerate. He seems to be that way naturally," she added in a tone of surprise. At first, Mary envied "the other Charles."

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girl, because she was blond, slender, and very pretty. But when she saw how inconsiderately "the other Charles" treated his girl friend, she was glad not to be in her place. Besides, Mary added, although she herself is too short and a bit plump, she thinks she is much more feminine than the blond girl was. "The other girl was a typical American, sort of stiff."

Mary is glad that she now goes out with boys much more than she did last fall. She has also become less defensive about herself, she confided, and does not worry so much about little things. Previously, for example, if she had poor shoes on, the whole evening would be spoiled for her. Her mother is very much like her in this respect. Now, after swimming, she goes home with her hair wet and without rouge or lipstick; this is something she would have never dared to do before.

She used to envy boys but is really glad now that she's a girl, Mary said; she was a tomboy during her childhood. Boys always want girls and this gives girls a chance to exercise "power" over them and to "hurt" them. Not that she wants to do this all the time, she explained; only when she is annoyed with "men's ego." Her mother and other women make her terribly mad because they're forever pitying little girls. Since they themselves have gone through a lot of suffering, they expect their daughters to suffer too. This, Mary thinks, is a very stupid way of managing the situation; they ought to teach their daughters "how to fight back." Instead of pampering their sons, as most women do, they might well pay more attention to their daughters and prepare them for life.

Mary herself is very healthy and hasn't been sick in two years, whereas her brother looks anemic, has drooping shoulders, and needs more exercise than he takes. Sometimes she and her mother urge him to get more exercise and to eat more. Mary herself "loves to eat." Phil is unlike her, too, in that he is not at all interested in girls and associates mostly with boys who are younger than he is. They usually just hang around somebody's porch and watch other boys play cards. Mary, on the other hand, has no interest in girls at all and doesn't know a single girl in her class. Phil and her mother frequently tell her that she thinks about boys entirely too much. Sometimes the two of them lead her on

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to talk about boys, only to make remarks that anger her. When she realizes that they have been teasing her, Mary becomes disgusted with herself for having fallen into their trap.

Last night, she said, she understood why mothers do not want their daughters to go out with boys. While at the swimming pool, she overheard two little girls talking about their boy friends. Mary felt angry and disgusted with these youngsters; she would have said "something nasty" to them if she had known them. Later in the evening, she realized that it was envy which made her angry with the girls; envy because she herself had not had a boy friend at their age. Most mothers, and older people in general, are jealous of young people who are having a good time, Mary feels, because they themselves missed having fun in their youth.

She discussed this point at great length, remaining in the office longer than usual today.

Nineteenth Interview

Duration: 2 hours

June 9, 1937

Time of Arrival: on time

Mary announced that she had finally obtained her college grades and that they were just average; she feels satisfied. She studied very little during the past semester, because she was so much preoccupied with her social life.

Her greatest interest at the moment is Charles. Never before has she liked anyone so much, or for such a long time. She finds her intense feeling for him very pleasant. Her mother, however, is somewhat perturbed and doesn't quite approve of the strength of Mary's attachment. She has attempted to weaken it by making critical remarks about Charles, by suggesting that he is not as fond of Mary as she is of him, and by warning Mary that she spoils Charles through revealing how much she likes him.

It is true that she is extremely fond of Charles, Mary stated. She especially appreciates his gentleness and the fact that they have so many interests in common. After much elaboration of this point, she said that Charles annoys her very often by being late when he has a date with her. His tardiness shows that he doesn't have enough respect for her, she thinks. A few days ago, she had

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quite a quarrel with Charles about this and told him that she wouldn't see him any more unless he came on time. This threat should teach Charlie a lesson. It's up to women, she confided to the worker, to behave in such a way as to make men feel that it's a privilege to go out with a girl.

Yet, in spite of his disturbing behavior, she enjoys going out with Charles. He is so nice that she finds herself thinking of him all the time and cannot wait for the day when she is to see him again. She spent most of the week-end with him, returning home only for a few hours at a time to "catch up on sleep." This is the very first time, she repeated, that she has ever been so intensely involved with any boy. She wonders if her love for Charlie is a case of "real love," or if real love is even more intense. She would like to know how one can tell when such a feeling is real love and when it is not. Love always involves pain, she stated. For example, it is very difficult for her to live through the hours when Charlie is not with her.

She followed this by further criticism of her mother and of Phil. They do not approve of her preoccupation with Charlie to the exclusion of everything else, nor of her being interested in any one boy. She is beginning to keep to herself many of the feelings which formerly she would have shared with her mother; she knows that her mother either won't understand or will disapprove. For instance, her mother is shocked whenever Mary tells her that she has kissed a boy several times. Her mother does not need to worry about her, Mary stated, because she knows very well what she is doing. She has always been independent, and plans to follow her own convictions, doing what she wants to do if she herself thinks it is right. She left the office in a very gay mood, saying that she was going to see Charlie soon.

Twentieth Interview

Duration: 2½ hours

June 23, 1937

Time of Arrival: not stated

Again Mary wore her hair arranged in a different manner. She complained that she has been in a turmoil generally, is confused about everything, and does not know what she thinks about any-

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thing. She showed the worker her latest literary effort, entitled "Philosophy of Life."

Philosophy of Life

I've often wondered about that expression, "Honor among men." I've wondered if there is such a thing. I've come to the conclusion that there is. Men are very loyal to each other. It's funny, but women aren't a bit loyal to each other, especially where men are concerned. No matter how much a boy may like a girl, his male friends still count quite a bit with him. Girls are different. If they like a boy, they sacrifice all of their friendships, and almost everything else to win just a glance from the boy.

Boys are odd! They tell you they don't pick up girls unless they have money with them. They seem to think that it's only natural to spend money on a pick-up. Yet they will take a girl out who they've known quite some time and think it's a lot if they spend a dollar while out with her. It's just the same old story of the men not being so enthusiastic of what they're sure of. They want their girls to appear natural, yet they'll look twice at an artificially attractive girl, and furthermore treat her with more respect and attention than the other plainer girls.

Egotistical males that they are, they have a decided weakness for bright and vivid things, though they never admit it. The reason they refuse to permit their own girls to dress attractively is that they are afraid the girls will attract too much attention, and they might lose their additional pieces of property.

When the worker finished reading her paper, Mary brushed it aside as though she did not want to discuss it. Instead, she began to talk about Charles. The whole thing is off, she said. It all happened this way: Charles said that he couldn't call for her before nine-thirty because he was busy. She insisted that he come at eight until he finally agreed. On the day of the appointment he came at nine-fifteen. She went out with him but told him at the end of the evening that she didn't want to see him anymore. Perhaps, she said, her reason for doing so was that, because she is so fickle herself, she wants to continue going out with different boys. After her separation from Charlie she felt very blue and upset; yet she is determined not to see him again.

She and her mother are definitely drifting apart, Mary then announced. Both her mother and Phil have become intensely

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critical of her, with the result that she has frequent arguments with them. Mary used to sleep in the same room with Phil, but after her father deserted them, her mother moved Mary into her room. Ever since that time, she has been sleeping in the same bed with her mother. She hates this. She sleeps at the edge of the bed and cannot stand coming into contact with her mother's body. She does not know why she feels so strongly about it; she is somewhat ashamed of her feeling of revulsion, yet it is always very unpleasant to touch her mother's body. She likes to be alone, but she has no privacy, Mary complained, when she has to sleep with her mother. But there isn't anything she can do about it. Her mother feels hurt when she senses Mary's attitude, and Mary is sorry that this is so. But she just cannot share her feelings with her mother.

Then, too, her mother has become very critical of Mary's staying out late at night, so that they have many quarrels about this issue. During one of these quarrels, Mary said, she became very upset, and broke down and cried. Her mother just stood there and told Phil he wasn't to give Mary any pity; she was just like the woman next door, who is very selfish and cries just to get sympathy. This remark hurt Mary a great deal, because she is really very much upset about the situation between herself and her mother and would like to remedy it in some way. But she doesn't see how it can be done. She just hates the woman next door and feels that it was downright mean of her mother to make such a comparison.

Several times lately Mary has felt like leaving home. This is the first time in all her life that such an idea has occurred to her. Last week her mother said that if Mary came home once more at four o'clock in the morning, she wouldn't let her in. It was the very worst thing her mother could have said to her at the time. "Instead of trying to understand me and what I am going through, Mother tries to treat me as she used to when I was little." In the course of these arguments Mary frequently feels intense hatred for her mother, because she believes her mother deliberately says things just to hurt her. Then, after a quarrel, she feels very much disturbed about the way she has behaved toward her mother. Yet she does not see where she has been wrong. All of this has been very disturbing to her.

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The difficulty of her mother's position was again explained to Mary; at the same time the worker expressed sympathy for Mary's problems. Sometimes she is quite sure that her mother is simply jealous, Mary replied, and wants Mary to love her only. Her mother's kindness is just a way of exploiting her, by tying Mary closely to her. Her mother sleeps with her, Mary continued, because she, Mary, is a substitute for her father. Frequently her mother does kind things just to make Mary feel indebted, so that she can dominate her. "I'm not cynical, but a lot of these self-sacrificing people are that way, and it's a terrible thing to discover it." When she stops to think of the situation, she doesn't blame her mother. And yet it is true that her mother exploits both her and her brother. Phil is very closely tied to his mother, Mary charged, and that is the reason why he doesn't go out with girls. Phil tells her that she too ought to obey her mother implicitly and not argue with her. "Even if Mother says that black is white, you should accept it." But Mary cannot see things in this light at all: she has always been "independent" and will continue to be so.

She finds herself thinking of her father more often and is beginning to believe that perhaps he wasn't altogether at fault when he left her mother. She is also beginning to see that she herself is quite a lot like him. Her mother used to say this to Mary very frequently in the past. Right now Mary feels that she never wants to have children. Most parents exploit their children so much, she explained, without any awareness of what they are doing, that she doesn't trust herself to become a parent. "However, this may be just a temporary feeling."

The worker shared in the conversation a great deal today. Mary showed unusual insight. Toward the end of the interview she said with relief that she feels so much better and so much more at peace with everything. She hasn't seen Charlie any more to talk with, and there's nobody at home who understands her; but she enjoys the interviews here a great deal. Again she was assured that, although the worker would terminate his work here in two weeks, she could come to his home at any time. She seemed definitely pleased by this promise.

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Twenty-first Interview

Duration: 1 hour

July 7, 1937

Time of Arrival: 35 minutes late

Mary began to talk of her affairs at home in a rather sad and subdued manner. Her mother has suddenly become very strict with her and has laid down a number of rules, such as that Mary has to be home by midnight, even on Saturdays, and so forth. Apparently she is insisting that Mary comply with these regulations. In contrast with her formerly rebellious attitude, Mary seems to feel now that there is nothing for her to do but conform. She is sorry, she said, that her mother is taking this stand. However, she voiced no criticism of her mother and changed the conversation to another topic. She doesn't enjoy the pool as much as she had anticipated: it is too crowded and the people are crude and rough.

Then she turned to a discussion of her job. Since her recent transfer to a new project, she enjoys her work much more. Her new co-workers are more pleasant and less "catty." She doesn't find her feelings hurt any more the way they used to be, and she will be able to establish a new reputation more easily in a new place.

But her brother continues to hurt her feelings very much. Recently she had a big quarrel with him because he tried to take sides with her mother and to discipline Mary. After the quarrel she was both hurt and angry and didn't pray that night. "I didn't feel like praying. What's the use of praying, if nobody is good to me anyhow?"

As Mary prepared to leave, the worker asked whether she could come again in two weeks. "Yes, oh yes," she said. "Talks with you are the only oasis in my life." The worker assured her once more that she could count upon seeing him during the winter.

Twenty-second Interview

Duration: 2 hours

July 21, 1937

Time of Arrival: on time

Mary arrived on time, and asked, a little apprehensively, if she had come too early. Almost at once, she began to speak about

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Charlie. She hasn't seen him for some time and stayed home from a dance last Sunday because she didn't want to meet him. "Is it better for a girl not to show interest in a boy?" she asked the worker. It is her belief that the boy may be more intrigued if the girl shows no interest in him. She thinks, too, that a girl should not be too careful about letting a boy spend a lot of money on her. She knows what Charlie's expenses are and does not see why he can't spend more money in taking her out. The next time she sees him she is going to suggest that he take her dancing at the Hotel Pennsylvania.

She went on to speak of her own finances. She keeps about four dollars of her monthly check and gives the remainder to her mother. Her largest expenditure is for the weekly dance: there is a charge of twenty-five cents for admission, ten cents for checking her coat, and five cents for carfare to the dance. Her mother is always generous and gives her additional money if she asks for it, but this she does not like to do. She continued to discuss her mother with much positive feeling. Her mother looks very young and is extremely energetic and capable. She is a good cook, an efficient housekeeper, and is always busy, either with housework or with sewing; she makes all of Mary's clothes. Her mother possesses much more energy than she does. It is only because of her mother's energy and efficiency that they live as well as they do. Although her mother isn't really a janitor, she has to see to it that the entire house is clean; in addition, she keeps their own apartment immaculate. Because of her mother's services, the landlord lets them have the apartment for only fifteen dollars a month. Formerly the house used to belong to her family, Mary said. But they had to sell it back to the previous owner.

Again Mary commented on her mother's youthful appearance: she is forty or forty-two, but looks only thirty. Mary does not understand how her mother can look so young. At this point she glanced at the worker questioningly and said that she had a confession to make. The worker nodded his head and Mary confided that her mother frequently asks her to fix her hair, because Mary is so good at it and often thinks of new styles. She hates to admit it, Mary continued, but she resents helping her mother to look attractive. She is a little jealous of her mother, she said. On the other hand,

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her mother is always nice to her and always wants Mary to look her best. This makes Mary feel even worse about her jealousy.

Both her mother and Phil tease Mary frequently about her wish to be "a society dame," and Mary resents it. Yet she just loves luxury, she admitted, and would really like to be "in high society." Her father used to promise that he would give her a good education, and assured her mother before he left home that he would always take care of Mary. "He always promised things, but promises are cheap." However, she and her father are alike in several respects. For one thing they are both artistic, much more so than her mother and Phil. Her father was a fine pianist, and an unusual person in many respects. And yet, she questions now how well her father really played; his greatest interest was in technique rather than in music, "and there was no feeling in his playing." She began to speculate on how she would feel and behave if her father came to visit them now. She thought she "would look at him with different eyes. I've grown up, and I'm disappointed in him. I don't think I'd feel the same toward him." She sat silently for a few minutes, then added pensively, "I wonder if love can ever disappear completely."

With this, she turned to a discussion of divorce and remarriage, which she used to think were awful. Now she would like to see her mother marry again. She thinks her mother would be happier. Quite unexpectedly she began to speak of Jews, of the prejudice against them, and of their courage in not hiding the fact that they are Jewish. She herself ought to be ashamed, she added, because formerly she used to avoid mentioning that she is really Italian.

As Mary left, the worker told her again that he was leaving for his vacation, and would be unable to see her for some time. Mary replied that she had enjoyed the interviews very much and hoped that she would be able to see the worker at his home during the coming winter. She was assured that she could count on this and left in a very gay and friendly mood.

In accordance with the promise made to Mary the worker saw her at his home several times during the winter that followed.

2. Adjustments in Selected Areas During Time of Interviews

The interview material is so extensive and so intricate that, if justice is to be done to its varied aspects, it must be broken down into less complex parts for interpretation. There is in it a wealth of information concerning the manifest content of adolescent behavior and experience. This will be considered first, through a discussion of Mary's adjustments in ten selected areas—Adults, Boys, Girls, Physical development, Self, Adulthood and vocation, Intellectual interests, Self-expressive activities, Standards, and Religion—with emphasis upon the dynamics of conduct, upon those factors which operate to change and determine her behavior. The essential aspects of the interview situation will then be studied, and the correlation between this experience and the changes in family and extra-familial relationships examined. It is hoped that an approach to the material through these different avenues will result in an understanding of the intrinsic processes that occurred during the period studied. These disclose a great variety of reactions, all of them attempts to achieve emotional maturity through different channels and all determined in their unique character by the individual's life history. The insights derived from previously presented case material and theory will now be drawn upon and applied to Mary's development, in order to demonstrate how those general concepts of behavior and personality development may be used for an understanding of an individual adolescent. For such an understanding it is as essential as it is difficult to integrate a general knowledge of emotional processes with a grasp of the individual context in which these processes occur.

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Mary's relationships to adults outside her home obviously reflect those within the family: her behavior and attitudes in school,

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on the job, and in the interviews are variations of patterns developed on the basis of her earliest relationships with other persons. The feelings derived from those experiences are transferred at adolescence into situations which, by virtue of their equivalence to parent-child relationships, become suitable for the display of the reactivated affectional or aggressive tendencies of an earlier period. It is the unsettled character of those first relationships that impedes Mary in developing satisfactory social intercourse outside the home. In her contacts with the worker she relives her latent conflicts, works them out to some degree, and thereby advances considerably in the direction of more wholesome adjustments to both men and women.⁸

Mary's concept of adults is based not on actual experience with them but on a preconceived idea through which she views persons in general. Her picture of men, the fears and expectations which she expresses at the beginning of the interviews are definitely influenced by her experiences with her father. Her feelings about him are very mixed indeed. At one moment she admires his character and his artistic talent, at the next she despises him and depreciates the quality of his work. On the one hand, she doubts that her father loves her; on the other, she cherishes the belief that he likes her better than anyone else in the family. This belief represents Mary's affectional feelings for him. She condenses the antagonistic component of her relationship with him into depreciatory generalizations about men, considering them, at the beginning of the interviews, as "sensual beasts" interested only in physical relations with women. She had frequently heard her father remark that her mother was the best wife and mother he had ever seen; yet in spite of that he deserted her for another woman. His comment, accompanied by action which contradicted and belied it, must have been very confusing to the girl. It has resulted in a discomforting feeling of uncertainty and insecurity and has caused her to distrust and withdraw from other people.

Mary experiences this uncertainty as self-consciousness and shyness in her social relationships. It is interesting to note that she does not remember any family disturbances prior to the open

⁸ The dynamics of the interview situation are discussed below, pp. 422 ff.

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conflict between her parents; yet she herself gives "friction in the home" as the cause of her diffidence. Her self-consciousness obviously makes her suffer. A desire to overcome the handicap is revealed in the statement she made on the NYA questionnaire: there she expresses the hope of overcoming her timidity and gaining confidence through experience on a job. At school she attempts to decrease her shyness through dramatics, only to experience a rejection which augments her insecurity.⁴ She tries dramatics again at college, and she joins the Writers' Club with the same purpose.

Her mother's contribution to Mary's sense of insecurity can hardly be overlooked. After the separation of her parents Mary became much more closely attached to her mother. She and her brother did the housework while their mother went out to work. The two children became very dependent upon their mother, and she, emotionally frustrated, intensified her relationship with them. Both Mary and Phil, aged fourteen and fifteen, represented a threat to their mother at that time through their awakening sex interest and the broader social identifications and relationships which would naturally alienate them from her. Afraid of losing them she kept them both from growing away from her and thereby hindered their emotional development.

Outwardly, at least, Mary accepts the dependency which was thus forced upon her: she appears to give up all efforts to find satisfying relationships and experiences with other persons. Nevertheless, there is evidence that she deeply resents this state of affairs. She is dimly aware that her mother is keeping her from growing up, through depreciating and forestalling those experiences which would help her to develop a sense of self-assurance in relation to people of her own age, and to adults. She believes that all other adults with whom she comes into contact would act in the same way; that they would all try to keep her in an inferior position, by making her remain a dependent little girl.

⁴ The experience of feeling rejected is thoroughly built into Mary's personality. She is always ready to relive it, and therefore finds opportunity for the experience in situations which do not warrant it. So she is "very much hurt if a person in the subway selects some other empty seat, instead of sitting down next to her: she always feels that this person has taken a dislike to her."

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In her turn, therefore, Mary resents making her mother more attractive as a woman. She is unwilling to manicure her mother's nails or to set her hair. Change of hairdress is the device most frequently employed by Mary to win the worker's attention; it seems to have been synonymous for her with making oneself attractive to men. Since she does not want her mother to surpass her in this respect, she feels unwilling to render her these services. She expects her mother to react in a similar way toward her; therefore she interprets her mother's keeping her close as indicative of jealousy, envy of Mary's attractiveness as a girl. This feeling reflects her own acute sense of rivalry and competition, during her adolescent development, in relation to her mother.

The sense of competing with her mother naturally becomes stronger as Mary increasingly directs her affection toward boys. She does not admit at first, even to herself, that the rivalry is directed toward her mother. But so strong is the feeling of competition with her that, before finding open expression in relation to her mother, jealousy and rivalry determine Mary's concept of adults in general. She considers them not only aloof and without understanding of young people, but envious of the fun and good times enjoyed by boys and girls. Adults interfere with happiness because they themselves have missed it in their youth. "You know, parents are very often jealous of their children." Women who have undergone suffering in their own lives expect their daughters to suffer too, and contribute to such suffering whenever they can. Their kindness, for example her mother's, is often only an indirect expression of their selfish feelings: "a lot of these self-sacrificing people" are nice to others in order to dominate them more effectively.

During the time that Mary directs her antagonism to adults in general, she is extremely compliant with and uncomplaining of her mother's demands. Her compliance is based upon fear of bringing the conflict into the open. Initially, she gives expression only to the ideal character of the relationship which exists between her and her mother. The conflict situation, kept latent and under control at home, becomes manifest at this time, however, in relation to her supervisors. She represses the negative feelings which are in reality directed toward her mother and transfers

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them to other women with whom she comes into contact. For a long period of time this behavior permits her to remain unaware of the conflict at home.

Such lack of awareness is made possible by the particular type of mechanism which Mary employs. Having assigned her antagonism to others, or projected it upon them, Mary fails to recognize any longer that these feelings are properly her own, arising in herself, and sees them only as belonging to and emanating from others. In this manner she is able to persuade herself that it is not she who feels jealous and resentful, but that others feel that way toward her. So she convinces herself that people dislike and criticize her. This belief results in the feeling that she is unwanted and treated unjustly and repeatedly rejected.⁵

In making herself suffer as the target for other people's hostility, Mary accomplishes a second purpose. Through her suffering she gains a substantial amount of relief from the feeling of guilt which necessarily accompanies her antagonistic feelings, even when they are disguised or repressed. This indirect gratification makes the mechanism desirable to her: the self-punishment inflicted through suffering lessens tensions and reestablishes her emotional balance. As she begins to give open expression to her resentment toward her mother—protected against overwhelming guilt by the worker's support—Mary's feeling of being rejected and unappreciated disappears. This change of attitude confirms the mechanism described above.

Mary's relationship with her mother is, then, just as ambivalent and contradictory as are her feelings for her father. At one point in the interview, she says that her mother favors and prefers Phil, but she later contradicts this statement by saying that she is closer to her mother than anybody else. She has a wish to be the person closest to her and also a feeling of envy because she sometimes believes that her mother has accorded that privilege to Phil. This jealousy creates another source of insecurity. In accordance with her reactive behavior tendency, Mary projects her resentment or otherwise denies its existence. Her recurrent affirmation of a good relationship with her mother is part of this denial. Significantly, it is made at a time when the suppressed conflict with

⁵ See footnote p. 387.

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her mother has reached a state where it threatens to force its way into the open. She guards herself against the breaking through of her negative feelings by building a protective wall, made up of vehement assertion of the opposite. The only times at which she expresses resentment toward her mother directly occur during the periods when her affectional feelings for her father become uppermost. Then she considers her mother's behavior partly responsible for his desertion⁶ and is resentful toward her. Accordingly, any increase of positive feelings for her father constitutes a danger; it threatens to disturb the outwardly placid relationship with her mother and to destroy the protective denial.

So strong is this tendency to deny, to suppress antagonistic feelings and thereby prevent them from reaching consciousness, that it is reflected even in Mary's speech. She has a stereotyped way of verbalizing her criticism: the first part of a sentence denies the degree of resentment or hostile feeling tone which the second part contains. "I don't want to say that I want bouquets thrown at me, but I do want some attention." "I don't want them to get down on their knees and worship me, but I want them to have a respectful attitude." "I am not cynical but a lot of these self-sacrificing people are that way." "I don't mean to say that I live among unfriendly people, but so many of them are really unfriendly." The inference made here, that her speech shows a protective denial preceding the expression of critical and resentful feelings, is supported by a parallel development in other aspects of her behavior: an initially conforming attitude precedes an open outburst of suppressed hostility toward adults, and finally toward her mother in particular.

All of the various attitudes which Mary has developed as a result of her family experiences are to be found reflected in her social relationships with adults at school, in college, and on the job. Her relationships outside the home assume meaning through a consideration of her family relationships. The fact that Mary has been regarded as a baby at home, because of her mother's need to keep her dependent, gives rise to complaints of similar treatment in the office. Her comments reflect her reaction to this

⁶ This becomes evident through the associative sequence of her statements in a number of the interviews.

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treatment in the family: adults are people to whom you have to listen, like a small child; adults keep you from growing up; neither the supervisor nor the other girls in the office consider her an equal, and this makes a personal relationship to either of them that of a subordinate to a superior, or of an incompetent child to an able adult. Because she is not consulted in the office about spelling, Mary feels that she is not given credit for her educational qualifications. Even the fact that she has a job and is the only college student in the office does not give her the social and personal status that she wants. She feels herself constantly criticized by the supervisor, a woman; and this same conflict repeats itself after she is transferred to another job. Toward the end of the interviews Mary finally achieves a more mature attitude toward her work, her superior, and her colleagues.

The impact of family relationships is similarly evident in contacts with teachers. Dependency upon adults, conformity to their wishes, and suppression of criticism were Mary's customary modes of behavior previous to the interviews. It is quite natural, therefore, that these aspects of her behavior were emphasized in relationships with adults during high school: as a matter of fact, they were the only aspects manifested. She attended a coeducational high school. She liked the coeducational system but thought, at the beginning of the interviews, that she would prefer a girls' school, because then she would be more likely to have a teacher who really liked girls, with whom she could have a closer relationship. This comment probably reflects a home situation.

Uncertainty in family relationships, long antedating her father's desertion, manifested itself in shyness. Mary was unable to approach her teachers and hesitated to ask them for help, even when prolonged absence made such a request legitimate. She felt that the counselors in the school were of insufficient aid: at the time of the term when she needed advice most they were pressed by work; only the more determined students could reach them for assistance. Mary is not critical of this situation in reporting it; as usual, she represses her affect.

At college only one teacher receives mention, a woman who taught government. Mary admires this teacher's objectivity and

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impersonal presentation: she attributes particular value to the fact that the teacher apologizes whenever she expresses her own opinion on any subject. This attitude conforms with Mary's way of holding back her real feelings and apologizing for her opinion. In addition to these merits, the government teacher "stepped down" to the students' level, a form of behavior which Mary enjoys, although more mature young people of her age usually resent such treatment; significantly, Mary is the only member of the class who likes this teacher. Distrustful and afraid of adults she welcomes the very dependency to which she objects, just as she chafes against her mother's domination and still wishes to be the person closest to her.

It is not through mere chance that Mary's relationships to adults outside the home have been largely confined to women. She has avoided contacts with men, because of the fear and insecurity engendered in her by her father's behavior and by her mother's need to keep her a child. A change of attitude toward the family situation, effected with the help of the worker, brings about parallel changes on the job and in school. This illustrates that emotional emancipation from parents is a prerequisite for the development of satisfactory relationships with other adults.

BOYS

Mary's relationship to boys shows how basically family relationships influence the course of heterosexual adjustment in adolescence. This adjustment is a highly complex process in emotional reorganization, observable throughout the interview material in its various phases of progression, retardation, and regression. The influence of guidance and adult companionship in promoting this process can be seen in its manifold and significant aspects through the rôle played by the worker: with his aid a marked transformation takes place in Mary's feeling toward boys. These changes in her attitude will be studied in detail, since they illustrate some of the basic reactions which, in one form or another, accompany heterosexual adjustment.

At the time Mary first meets the worker her social relationships are rather narrowly restricted to home and school, and any

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overt interest in boys is almost completely submerged. She tells the supervisor that she spends all her free time studying and likes to be with the family when free from school. She has no need for party clothes, but is very fond of dancing. The same situation is revealed during the first interviews. She says, "Oh no, I don't have a boy friend, if that's what you mean. I am not interested in them." She is particularly adverse to having a steady boy friend and thinks nobody should attach his feelings to one person. Her wish to meet many different boys in succession, though a common tendency at this age, nevertheless suggests her deep-seated fear of attachment to any one individual. To protect herself she frequently changes the boy with whom she goes out, or, in her own words, she soon becomes tired of the same one. Her relationship to John, one in which there is much feminine affection, is brought to a sudden end when she becomes aware of her dependence on him, accompanied by an inability to concentrate on her studies. After the break with John she expresses relief and says that it is really a terrible feeling to be very much interested in one person.

In the early interviews Mary repeatedly says "men" instead of "boys," indicating that her relationship to boys is fundamentally influenced by the ideas she has developed about men. They are sensual beasts, she thinks, and sexual satisfaction is the only driving force that directs their behavior. A man "destroys all his victims like the dreadful cancer." The poem "Men" reveals the degree of Mary's hate and her belief in the universally selfish and cruel nature of all men. "The best fellow is not good enough for the worst girl," she says.

It is, then, the fear of being exploited by men that contributes in large degree to Mary's defensive behavior and causes her to be constantly on guard. However, even while protecting herself against exploitation, she nevertheless admits that one needs a man in order to have a good time, but she believes that any deep or tender feelings should be excluded from the contact. "Men are just a means to an end," she says, implying that one has to go out with boys in order to dance and to enjoy oneself.

In addition to her fear of boys' sexual demands, Mary has still other reasons for keeping to herself. She is afraid that she will be discarded as soon as she has given a boy the assurance of her af-

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fection and dependence. She has observed their fickleness for herself. She believes that men are always determined to make as many conquests as they can and that their attachment to a girl lasts only as long as they are not sure of her. Otherwise they lose interest and desert her. "It's just the same old story of the men not being so enthusiastic of what they're sure of." That viewpoint also dictates her statement, "I don't think boys like girls who behave very freely with them." And at still another point she expresses the same opinion, remarking that it is better not to kiss a boy at all, or only once, because otherwise he is likely to lose interest. The fear of being rejected by a boy after she has shown her interest in him is so compelling in her behavior that, to avoid such a contingency, she selects the kind of boy who will give her the chance to dominate and manage him. She is afraid of the type of boy who "acts independent."

Still another factor in Mary's defensive behavior is her fear of her own feelings toward boys. In high school Mary regarded boys as "queer creatures" and, though interested in them, she did not know how to approach them. Her first boy friend criticized her caresses and kisses, saying that she was far more demonstrative than he was. To Mary this meant that she did not play the feminine rôle that the boy expected of her, that she was in fact more demanding than a boy would have been. His criticism resulted in confusion regarding her own sex behavior and defeated her first attempt to manifest affection outside the family. This experience disturbed her very much: from that time on kissing, the cause of her first rejection by the other sex, constituted her repeated complaint about boys and became the basis for recurrent breaks with them. Rejection made her cautious and reserved with boys; it also made her afraid of her own feelings and desires.

This fear was intensified by her mother's attitude toward sex. Whereas Mary states in the earlier interviews that she discusses everything with her mother and that they talk quite freely about sex and about the relationship between men and women, this statement is taken back at a later point. Then she admits that all the sex information she has received has been obtained from girls and from books. Even while she attempts to convince herself and the worker that her sex curiosity has been satisfied through the

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home, it becomes evident that the mother has contributed considerably to Mary's feeling of guilt in relation to her "thinking about sex." Fear and guilt, related to each sexual sensation Mary experiences, are important elements in the break with most of her boy friends.

It is usually the demand of the boy to kiss her ("to get his money's worth") that makes Mary withdraw her affection. She is afraid of losing her self-control while kissing, and when she gets too close to a fellow she notices that she does not "think nice. . . ." Because of the danger in this situation, Mary breaks with each boy as soon as the relationship becomes invested with sexual feelings. She expects punishment in one form or another to follow; usually she punishes herself. This she accomplishes by feeling self-disgust and then breaking with the boy, thereby imposing upon herself a period of renunciation. Thus she breaks with John after he has stimulated her fantasies about marriage and children. Her fear of demonstrative sexual behavior succumbs slowly during the interview period, and Mary finally tells the worker of instances when she kissed with pleasure and without guilt, an experience unknown to her before.

Obviously Mary's distrust of men and boys has been caused in largest part by her father's desertion: he left her mother despite repeated affirmation of her excellence as a wife. The fact that he abandoned his family in order to live with a chorus girl must have shaken Mary's belief fundamentally in men's sincerity and loyalty toward women. This experience is clearly reflected in her anticipation that all boys will act and feel as her father did, and that she, as a woman, will inevitably be treated as her mother was. Accordingly, she expects her future husband to earn enough to support her adequately in case of divorce; she would prefer that her husband be firmly established in the city because then he would not be likely to run away. "You know, that's very funny," she says, "but for some reason, boys don't like to write letters. Maybe they think that letters are evidence against them and that girls might use them in a lawsuit." She refers here to her relationship with Al, of whom she had been very fond. After the break with him, she waited a long time, hoping that he would show up again or at least write. Her explanation for his failure

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to do so again reveals the influence of family relationships: in the quarrel with Mary's father, her mother had resorted to legal measures, obtaining a warrant for his arrest when she was left without support.

At the time of her father's desertion, Mary felt that she became much closer to her mother, identified herself to a great extent with her mother's situation, shared her resentment, and accepted her mother's advice regarding her attitude and conduct toward "men." Even before the open break between her parents occurred, there was a period when Mary knew that her father was interested in another woman. At that time she withdrew from people and took to spending more time in day dreams; it was then that her "romanticism" began to develop. She was thirteen years of age. If her father put his arm around her and wanted to kiss her, she could not escape the feeling that he might be sexually interested in her. Since she loved her father she also wanted evidence of his affection for her, as adolescent girls do. His promiscuity, however, made her deny this wish because his behavior had destroyed his paternal identity and had tinged his demonstrative affection with sexuality.

Significantly enough, Mary did not feel any hostility toward her father until she was thirteen years of age. For many years before this time, parental disharmony had existed and had passed unnoticed by her. The age when her new, adolescent feeling life began to enter strongly into family relationships coincided with open evidence of her father's promiscuity and subsequent desertion. The breaking up of the family forced Mary to take sides. In order to prevent any recurrence of the conflict, she developed an exceedingly strong identification with her mother and, at least consciously, a rejection of her father. The latter becomes discernible in Mary's choice of boy friends, of "men," as she likes to call them. This choice obviously contains an element of contrast to her father: she dislikes Italians, she prefers blonds, she will not marry a musician. Her reaction to the Italian widower is noteworthy.

The mother's influence upon the development of Mary's fear of attachment and her desire to play the dominating rôle with boys is quite clear. It can be seen in Mary's tendency to inflict

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pain by hurting boys' feelings, to regard any "sensual" manifestations or sexual wishes as "no good," and to consider women as objects for sexual exploitation, a belief which makes constant self-defense necessary. During the interviews Mary becomes increasingly aware of how significantly her mother's experience in marriage has shaped her own attitudes toward men. Mary likes to hurt a boy if he expresses his attachment to her. In her mother she finds a similar tendency which she describes as an inclination to be mean to men. It obviously pleases the mother when her daughter hurts the feelings of some boy. Mary's cruel behavior, it is quite clear, has been determined in large part by her mother's approval and exhibition of this kind of emotional gratification. Later, Mary realizes that behind the mother's reluctance to see her daughter establish a happy relationship with a man lies the fact that she herself had been denied such a relationship in her life.

It is interesting to see how Mary attempts to make up, as does her mother, for being dependent on men, for being a woman (see poem "Stand-up"). She tries to persuade herself that being a girl makes her superior to boys. Girls are always wanted by boys; this gives a girl the chance to exercise "power" over boys and to "hurt" them whenever she wishes. That she herself should be the "independent" one in any relationship is, therefore, a prerequisite; only then can she dismiss a boy whenever she chooses or whenever he refuses to do what she wants. Retaliation for dependence and self-assertion through power constitute very important elements in her relationship with boys. It is for that reason that she needs the interest of many boys and a souvenir from each one as tangible evidence of her conquests. Her sense of power must be maintained, and so she is constantly on guard. The slightest cutting remark or lack of attention forces her into the offensive. She watches the attitude of boys toward her very carefully and is always ready to strike back if they seem to slight or ignore her. She considers it a great mistake to educate girls to accept defeat. Mothers should teach their daughters how to fight back; that would be a real preparation for life. Indirectly she reproaches her own mother with having failed to prepare her adequately for the inevitable battle between the sexes.

In this concept of a war-like relationship between men and

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women there is contained a condensation of her family drama. The material suggests that the question of who should dominate and who submit had always been of paramount importance in the parents' marital relationship. After the separation her mother increased her domination of Mary, who reacted to this change in relationship with the feeling that she was becoming a husband substitute. The mother was also instrumental in strengthening Mary's hostile and cruel attitude toward men, thus passing on to her child her own means of satisfaction.

As a result of Mary's relationship with the worker and the experimentation with boys that occurred during it, her concept of men undergoes a fundamental change. She learns to reconsider her father's behavior in the light of the circumstances that motivated him to leave home, and becomes less hostile toward him. This in turn causes her to feel more friendly toward men and boys, and thereby less dependent upon a very close relationship with her mother. With progressively decreasing dependence upon her mother and her mother's beliefs, much of Mary's hatred of men disappears. This finally results in the acceptance of boys and men on a less conflicted basis, an appreciation of heterosexual relationships, and a revision of her beliefs about men. Whereas formerly she used to regard all men as "sensual and no good," she now becomes willing to admit that some men are really quite fine. The change in her attitude toward "men" is so marked that at the end of the interviews her relationship to Charlie is feminine in character, without exaggerated fears of her feelings, without as strong an urge to play the dominant rôle, and with acceptance of her affectional attachment to one person.

Significantly, it is this experience with Charlie and her mother's attempts to thwart it that bring forth the open expression of Mary's hostility toward her mother. Earlier guilt feelings about her resentment had resulted in marked conformity to her mother's wishes, ideas, and beliefs. Now open admission of her antagonism can be met with less conflict, especially since she finds moral support in the worker. She becomes freed to some extent from the intense and rigid identification with her mother. This new freedom permits her to form her own concept of men and to evaluate her sexual behavior independently of her mother's attitudes.

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Mary's violent rejection of her mother's interference in the relationship with Charlie is the culminating point of a drama enacted in the interviews. In the course of it Mary acts out her emotionality and finally disregards her mother's advice to conceal her fondness for boys. Previously, after her father's desertion, she lived in a fantasy world, expressing her yearning for affection in poetry but withdrawing from reality. Now she turns to people for the love she so strongly desires. She expresses the conviction that in her previous relations with boys it was her mother who stood in the way of her doing so.

The formulation of new concepts and the evolution of more mature attitudes are naturally a gradual process. As part of her acceptance of her feminine rôle, she begins to look at her mother as a possible competitor. This is expressed by her reluctance to manicure her mother's nails or dress her hair—services she had performed routinely for many years previously. Simultaneously she begins to try herself out with many boys. Since the rôle is new, she is uncertain and experiments to find out what is expected of her in sexual behavior. She likes to meet many boys in order to understand "men"; she studies them, she says, in order to choose a husband more wisely. She awaits with curiosity the reaction of a boy who is in love with her and whom she has told that she has changed her mind. Though Mary usually prefers to play the dominant rôle at one point, she expresses her preference for the masculine protective boy who calls her "my little one." With such a boy she feels herself changed and becoming feminine. Her uncertainty about which rôle to assume, so well illustrated in her remarks, results at times in complete loss of direction. Then Mary cannot find anybody to suit her: some boys are too quiet and withdrawn, some too crude and fresh, some too smart and too superior. In order to find her place among these various types Mary plays different rôles in connection with the varying styles of her clothes. She watches afterward to find out which particular combination made her most desirable to boys. She modifies her conduct repeatedly and observes its effect. A phase of mere experimentation precedes the more mature phase of consistent behavior and attitudes.

This experimentation, in the course of which Mary molds her

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feminine rôle, leads finally to a much more mature social relationship. Whereas in the beginning of the interviews she rejects boys as being interested only in a "pretty shallow thing," ultimately she arrives at an appreciation of a personal and affectional attachment. The acceptance of sexual behavior (kissing) and the accompanying sensations, without fear or an undue amount of guilt afterward, has been achieved to a remarkable degree at the end of the interviews. This acceptance of her own feeling life marks a step toward emotional maturity and toward a potentially mature self-control. However, after the close of the interviews, a temporary refuge in old devices of protection and escape will probably occur because of the rapid development that has taken place. The onset of this retreat can already be observed in the renunciation of her relationship to Charles. But the fact that she has had the opportunity to experience her emotionality satisfactorily in a predominantly feminine partnership will have a lasting effect on her further social and emotional adjustment.

GIRLS

During the early interviews, and in the period preceding their inception, Mary's relationship to boys is severely conflicted; in consequence, as has been indicated, she withdraws from them. Because she is blocked in her heterosexual adjustment, her relationship to girls assumes an intense quality, predominantly antagonistic. Remarks made to her co-workers reveal an amount of aggression that Mary herself does not recognize, even though she enjoys "unloading" it on occasion: "It does one good to say what one really thinks at times."

Her unfriendliness toward girls has not always been as marked as in the period under discussion: she does not object to attending a girls' school instead of a coeducational institution. And she must have been on friendly terms with the girls from whom she reports receiving sex information. Her antagonism toward girls and her intense rejection of them seems to have appeared during adolescence and to have been part of the reactions that accompanied changes in her social adjustment at that time.

It has become abundantly evident that Mary's total social ad-

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justment is closely bound up with her family situation. Those aspects of her adjustment which pertain specifically to relationships with girls are similarly determined. She envies her cousin, because Rose is given special attention by her father, who, though he is no happier in marriage than Mary's father, nevertheless remains with his family for his daughter's sake. Jealous of Rose, Mary feels bitter and resentful toward her and therefore attempts to belittle her.

Her own father's desertion and the parental friction that preceded it have created in Mary a marked sense of uncertainty. This has been subsequently intensified by her mother's need to keep her a child. The treatment which resulted from this need has prevented Mary from developing self-adequacy and has made competition with other girls of her age difficult. She envies Rose the paternal attention which she herself has been denied. Similarly she envies other girls those abilities, the lack of which in herself she resents. Included among these is the ability to adjust to boys.

Mary herself describes both her feeling of envy and her customary method of dealing with it. "While at the swimming pool, she overheard two little girls talking about their boy friends. Mary felt angry and disgusted with these youngsters; she would have said 'something nasty' to them if she had known them. Later in the evening she realized that it was envy which made her angry with the girls, envy because she herself had not had a boy friend at their age." Significantly, she experiences her reaction as one of anger and disgust. That these feelings are merely a cloak becomes clear to her much later in the day.

Before acquiring this insight into her behavior, Mary is not at all aware of the jealousy and competitiveness which enter into her relationship with girls. In order to protect herself against painful recognition of her own limitations, she resorts to the sour-grape technique, finding the behavior she envies "disgusting." She belittles what she fears she cannot attain: Girls are very shallow in their interests. They indicate a too obvious desire to appeal to boys by indulging in make-up and conspicuous clothes. They tell risqué stories, which she herself neither understands nor likes.

The sexual component in her complaints about girls is obvious.

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It constitutes a danger which she feels too great for her to master, and it leads, therefore, to various kinds of defensive behavior. Such behavior operating in her relationships with boys has already been indicated. The reasons for her fear and rejection of girls require consideration at this point.

Her mother's behavior and her family experiences block Mary in her relationships with boys. This limits her to directing her feelings exclusively toward women and girls, thereby creating a state of affairs in conflict with her normal impulses, which prompt her to shy away from the situation thus created. The readiness to make contacts with boys, which she shows during the interviews, indicates how easily her blocked emotional life could be redirected, once she had freed herself from dependency upon her mother. Mary's repeated use of the word "woman" instead of "girl" is significant in this respect.

Mary feels particularly upset and emotionally disturbed when her mother insists that she share her bed. This demand intensifies her resentment, since it seems to make her a "substitute" for her father. In the course of one interview she compares this to the experience of physical contacts with girls: "Sometimes her mother puts her arms around Mary. She always feels like withdrawing from her mother at such times. She has very similar feelings when she dances with a girl; for some reason physical contact with a woman is often unpleasant to her." The feelings of repulsion and antagonism that arise in consequence are successfully suppressed at home but finally displayed on the job. They are diverted from their original object, her mother, and expressed by caustic remarks and defensive attitudes toward all women and girls. This results in a general dislike of the latter, so strong that it makes working with them difficult.

Why Mary never responds to the worker's suggestion that she join a girls' club and attend a girls' summer camp becomes clear at this point. In spite of the worker's frequent mention of such a possibility, Mary never follows up his suggestion that she visit the organization. Some time elapses before she becomes aware of the reasons which make her unwilling to go; finally, she dismisses the plan definitely with the remark that she is too easily annoyed by girls and too interested in boys.

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Despite her initial objection to going out with girls, by the time of the seventh interview Mary cancels an appointment with the worker because she has made a date with a girl. Just before making this announcement she tells the worker of her good relationship with her mother, of whom she is very fond and to whom she tells everything or "almost everything." Previously, it was the worker to whom she had given her "deepest secrets," her innermost self, in the form of her poetry. Now she selects her mother as confidante. In this way, by setting off one against the other, she creates a situation in which, to her mind, the two become rivals for her confidence: to which one should she give herself? She decides in favor of her mother. Significantly, she does so at a point when her affectional feelings for her father (as represented by the worker) are becoming very strong. It is also significant that immediately after withdrawing her feelings from the worker in this way, Mary suddenly and intensively resumes her contacts with boys, which had been discontinued for a long time.

As soon as she develops outgoing interests in boys, Mary's attitudes toward girls likewise change. Success with boys gives her the courage to associate and compete on equal terms with the kind of girls whose behavior had previously aroused envy and anger in her and caused her to withdraw from relationships with them. In comparing herself to Rose later, she is able to disregard the attentions Rose receives from Uncle John—that is, to face and bear her own father's neglect of her—and to direct her energies instead toward deriving satisfaction from men outside her family circle. At the same time shame of her Italian descent gives way to a gradual acceptance of the distinctive feminine assets of Italian girls, an assertion of personal worth which she expresses by saying, "The other girl was a typical American, sort of stiff."

There is no area, however, in which Mary's changing attitudes toward girls becomes more apparent than in her relationships with co-workers in the office. Whereas on her first jobs she felt disliked, left out, and unwanted, later on she comes to believe that the girls are more pleasant and less "catty." Her feelings are no longer hurt as easily as they used to be; consequently, she enjoys her work much more. This change parallels the general increase

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in her security and the acceptance of her femininity. Both contribute to the better emotional adjustment which is reflected in her relationship with co-workers. The shifting patterns in that relationship, ranging from avoidance, rejection, and aggression to acceptance and appreciation, throw light on essential processes in social adjustment during adolescence.

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Physical maturation rarely takes place without provoking in the adolescent some concern about the adequacy and normality of his bodily changes and processes. However, this concern is seldom directed exclusively toward the development of primary or secondary sex characteristics. Usually it manifests itself in worries about physical deviations from an arbitrary norm, displayed with respect to changes in style of hairdress or clothes—worries, therefore, of an apparently irrelevant nature, which often reveal the great amount of anxiety that accompanies maturation and its new physical sensations. In order to make up for shortcomings of one sort or another, real or imagined, a variety of compensatory devices are employed. Ordinarily these are subject to rapid modification, influenced by the changing rate of physical development as well as by the varying degree of emotional stability in any given individual. Mary's attitude toward her body, expressed in her displaced concerns and her many compensations, illustrates reactions which may accompany physical growth. These characteristic reactions will gain clarity and meaning if they are demonstrated in their shifting patterns and in relation to the total situation of her adolescent development.

When Mary arrives for the first interview, she wears cracked glasses and gives the general impression of not being very much concerned with her appearance. The worker's suggestion about repairing the glasses is acted upon immediately, and Mary feels the effect of new glasses as a change of herself. Her eye condition constitutes a serious concern: it comes up repeatedly and parallels her heterosexual experimentation. She wishes she might avoid the disfiguration of her face by wearing contact lenses. Her self-consciousness about her looks is greatly diminished

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through success with boys, and toward the end of the interviews it disappears.

Mary's feelings about her physical inadequacy are also expressed in other areas. The fact that she was different in age, size, figure, and development from the average of her classmates in high school made her feel inappropriate in many respects. This contributed to her shyness and self-consciousness. Her fear about inadequacy was increased by a teacher's reference to a lisp that would make her unacceptable in the dramatics club. The rejection upset Mary completely and the added indication of an organic defect made her feel so dejected that she cried the whole night afterward.

Sensitivity and anxiety related to physical changes were manifested in her reaction to her first menstruation. She knew about it from other girls, yet the first occurrence was a great shock to her. She felt "as if the world was coming to an end" and she "almost wanted to die." Self-consciousness about her body increased, and a physical examination caused her considerable embarrassment, although an examination some years before had made comparatively little impression upon her. The unexpected "painful" embarrassment present in the later examination added to her confusion. She finally attributed this embarrassment to the fact that the examining doctor was a "handsome young man."

With rather rapid bodily changes taking place during maturation, Mary began to watch herself carefully. Her attention focused on her physical development, and she began to become greatly concerned with the normality of it. She was just as much afraid of being overdeveloped as underdeveloped. Her worries were not, of course, confined to physical manifestations only: she expressed anxieties about her mental adequacy by saying that she had a poor memory and failed to understand people. These concerns demonstrate the temporary upset of self-integration that occurs when there are rapid body changes and accompanying sensations which have to be incorporated into the self. This process of emotionally incorporating the new attributes of body and sensation never passes without disturbances of varying degrees.

Soon after Mary begins to experiment with boys, doubts about

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the normality of her relationships repeat previous doubts about the normality of her development. She wonders whether there is not something wrong in her attitude toward boys. She likes them but cannot fall in love with them, and while liking a boy she becomes easily angered with him. Relationships and their accompanying emotional sensations release the same anxieties as the manifestations of bodily changes, because they too are emotionally new and untested. The family constellation and the lack of security in the family group result in her negation of her Italian background: she experiences this negation physically, in a rejection of her Italian body build. Only after success with boys and especially during her friendship with Charlie is she able to develop new attitudes toward her Italian inheritance. This she expresses by suddenly finding herself much more feminine than the other girls, even though she is too short and a bit too plump. The acceptance of herself physically runs parallel to Mary's social and heterosexual adjustment. The experience of being wanted by boys finally minimizes the doubts as to her worth and normality.

The various concerns described above naturally call forth reactions of a compensatory or over-compensatory nature. These reactions, in fact, are the first signs of adjustment to the new situation and its demands; they represent attempts at restitution, put to use at the moment that any feeling of inadequacy, either physical or mental, threatens the emotional integrity of the self. In order to overcome her shyness Mary resorts to public speaking and reading aloud. Although lacking popularity she dances for four hours, a performance in which no other girl is able to compete with her. Trying herself out through changes of hair dress also represents an important experimentation during the interviews; as recorded, she does this six times. One day she wants to reduce and begins walking to the office but never refers to it later. Into this picture of Mary's constant experimentation with herself fit her frequent changes of style in her clothes, wearing different coats, even her brother's, and borrowing his socks.

Many of these reactions are undoubtedly exaggerated, representing the phase before a more balanced attitude is attained; a definite change can be observed finally. As Mary becomes more

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confidant of herself and more secure in her relationship to boys she simultaneously loses much of her self-consciousness and shows a remarkable gain in self-assurance: to her great satisfaction she feels able to pick up a newspaper in the subway without embarrassment. Reference to acceptance of her Italian body build has already been made. Furthermore she can walk home after swimming with her hair wet and without make-up. She feels less defensive about herself, and her pleasure at a party no longer depends on her dress or her shoes: little things have lost their importance.

The changes mentioned above can be evaluated adequately in their manifold determination only if they are reinstated into the total pattern of Mary's development. To avoid repetition, however, all references to her changing attitudes toward parents, boys, and girls have been omitted from the present discussion of her physical development. It has been taken for granted that the material of this area will readily be associated with the data previously discussed.

SELF

Despite a full realization of how closely this area is allied to the preceding one, it is nevertheless given separate attention. In many respects the numerous references in the material to changing feelings about the self, its worth and its belongingness, as well as attempts at restitution of the self either through escape or compensation, are naturally all reflections of a shifting total situation. However, the material illustrates so many common devices employed by adolescents to restore individual integrity, and so many common reactions of this age, that the attitude toward the self was thought to merit special consideration. The feeling about the self reflects mainly the character of relationships with others, in which a sense of being wanted and of accomplishment are of paramount importance. It serves, then, as an indicator of how well the totality of experiences, physical and emotional, is being interpreted and incorporated by the individual as part of himself. It illustrates further the advantage of rich and varied experiences at adolescence through which the individual can work out the emotional residues from infancy in order to attain more mature attitudes. Through examining the individual's

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concept of the self, finally, the manner in which an understanding adult can guide and foster the emotional development of an adolescent gains in outline and clarity.

How Mary comes to feel different from other people has been previously described. Her emotional immaturity, social inadequacy at school, lack of privacy at home, embarrassment caused by anticipation of being questioned about her father—all contribute to an emotional life withdrawn and separated from reality. At high school Mary feels toward other students like a serf to a nobleman in spite of the fact that the other students are of her own economic group—many of them of her racial background. Naturally she prefers to stay by herself and to live a fantasy life that she expresses partly in her poetry.

Though Mary does not feel wanted by others, she nevertheless considers herself better than others; in fantasies she obtains the satisfaction she cannot find in reality. She also devaluates the pleasures which other girls of her age seek. Her feelings are intensified after her father's desertion. Following this crucial experience Mary withdraws and her "romanticism" develops. She never abandons the conviction that her father loved her more than he did her mother and brother. Although she is unable to forgive him for cheating her out of a college education, she nevertheless follows this educational plan, promised her by her father, and attaches a great deal of superiority feeling to the fact that she attends college. In consequence she expects her supervisors to give her preference over other girls for her educational status and feels extremely hurt when she is not appreciated on account of it.

Poetry and day-dreaming are some of her devices for avoiding encounters with reality. Identifications are established in fantasy life; so she collects magazine stories. Her withdrawal from others is projected and leads to feelings of not being wanted, as revealed by the subway incident. Her poetry deals almost entirely with love and conflicts between the sexes: it depicts her family experiences with scarcely any disguise. A prolonged introspective period leads Mary to the opinion that she has an unusual understanding of other people. This belief is based on the fact that she has thought so much about herself; but influenced by it, she wants

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to play the rôle of the teacher who helps girls in need of support and love, girls representing what she herself is and has been.

As soon as the contact with the worker marks a new phase of emotional development Mary also changes her feeling about herself. Her experimentation with her appearance (hair, clothes) and relationships (boys, girls) precipitates repeated states of withdrawal. The first encounter with the fact that other people experience feelings identical to her own hurts Mary deeply because it deprives her of the belief in the personal and unique character of her own emotional life. She feels "insulted." On the other hand, realization of the ubiquity of her feelings relieves her because it assures her of her normality. A growing awareness that the most intimate sensations are experienced by other human beings affects the feeling about the self. Such awareness is a common adolescent experience; it fundamentally affects the concept of the self in relation to others. The maturing individual has to abandon a belief in his uniqueness and egocentricity, both of which were essential to the infantile self.

The rôle of conscience as an inhibitory and controlling factor becomes evident in Mary's shifting feelings about her worth. Any indulgence in feelings of a sexual or aggressive nature results in a sense of guilt and a fear of her own emotionality. She expects punishment and imposes it upon herself by temporary renunciation of any pleasure. Then she withholds her feelings, and she even fears her day-dreaming. She prefers that all her time be taken up and no opportunity be left for fantasies. It is for these reasons that she temporarily hates Sundays, with their ample leisure time at home.

Mary has at her disposal several devices that put her into a pleasant state of mind when she feels depressed and sad. She smells perfume, linen, or ivory soap. The associations connected with these odors reproduce happy feelings experienced in the past. Another device is just lying on the couch, listening to music, with the paraphernalia for the evening spread over the room. Enjoyment of doing nothing, despised at some times, becomes invested with rebellious elements at others: "I get a kick out of doing something which I really enjoy, at a time when I ought to be doing something else." The overthrow of inhibitory, au-

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thoritative powers in herself, powers comprising her conscience, accentuates the advances made in freeing herself from dependence on the family. She experiences a duality in herself: her behavior when she deals with strangers differs from her actions with members of the family. In the family, "one always has to stick to the same rôle one played with them in the past, or to one which the family expects a person to play."

Mary's conflict of loyalty in relation to her parents results in outbursts of criticism and rebellion. These moments of hostility are followed by feelings of guilt. Thus she finds herself desolate at times and with serious doubts about the worth of her self. At these times her feelings are easily hurt, she indulges in suicidal fantasies, or she wonders if she is missed at the old office. In order to escape the family conflict she even contemplates leaving home, a consideration that occurs, significantly, at the moment when she is breaking away from her home emotionally and establishing a more independent self.

Remarkable gains in confidence concerning her worth are gradually achieved with the acceptance of herself as an Italian and as a girl, as well as with the acceptance of her own feeling life. Her rapid gains in emotional development, as the material has illustrated, were marked by frequent changes of mood and great instability. Furthermore, the impact of the family history upon the development of the self has been clarified. The picture, however, has been left incomplete with regard to one factor. Of outstanding importance in the reorganization of Mary's self has been the worker, whose rôle in this process will be treated separately at a later point.⁷

ADULTHOOD AND VOCATION

Questions of vocation, as well as conceptions of their own future, are necessarily imbued for adolescents with present personal problems and are, in fact, often the indirect expression of these acute concerns. The desire to attain adult status repeatedly alternates with regressive tendencies; the result is withdrawal or

⁷ See below, "The interview situation: its dynamics and its effect upon social adjustment," pp. 422 ff.

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unreasonable demands. Both these reactions contain the element of "over-doing" or "under-doing," characteristic of the individual experimenting with new powers and untested potentialities.

Expectations of the future, then, represent a reflection of the present and change accordingly. Often current emotional conflicts are projected into the future, into problems of training, vocation, marriage; and any acute instability may cause far-reaching reverberations in terms of later life situations. The opposition of "job versus continuation of learning" is quite common as an expression of ambivalence toward the process of growing up. This controversy represents dual tendencies: to preserve childhood status and dependency; to progress toward the attainment of adult status, with its emotional and economic independence. The conflict inherent in emancipation from the family is thus dramatized in terms of problems that require some decision at this age and constitute concerns implicit in adult life. The emotional endowment, however, is usually striking, especially when one observes how any new emotional experience changes the outlook toward vocation and adulthood in characteristic features. Mary, who lived through profound emotional experiences while she was being interviewed, illustrates how conceptions of the future and the choice of vocation become modified in accordance with such experiences.

The greatest pleasure Mary derived from her high-school years occurred on Senior Day when she was allowed to take the teacher's place in the class and conduct a lesson. She wanted to become a teacher; at the beginning of the interviews she still considers that as her goal. She makes this choice on the basis of her presumed ability to understand people. It is quite obvious that her own situation at school up to that time contributed toward this wish to help others, to give to them what she herself had been denied. Her first NYA job was a teaching position: it proved a failure because of personal difficulties that developed between Mary and her supervisor. In spite of this experience she does not abandon her vocational choice. The urge to teach, interestingly enough, does decline as she becomes accepted on equal terms with her co-workers in the office and effects a better adjustment to the job, which she finally holds successfully; simultaneously with this

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change her self-pity and social withdrawal become markedly reduced, almost disappear.

The college education which Mary has been pursuing for two years is a source of great satisfaction to her. In going to college she lives up to her father's expectations; attending "cultural" courses gives her a sense of self-assurance which her impoverished social intercourse cannot provide. She avoids personal contacts at the college to such an extent that she does not know a single student in her class. In the third year of college Mary suddenly decides to supplement her liberal arts program with a WPA business course. Her interest in business training develops slowly; for some time—as long as she experiences her own office work so strongly as competition with other girls and the supervisor's behavior as a rejection—it is kept in abeyance.

The implications of Mary's attitude toward a job gain in clarity when the shift of her interest and her desire to obtain a full-time job are taken into account. Personal insecurity on the job as well as in social intercourse forces Mary to maintain her college work; however, the desire to have a full-time job is an indication of her attempt to participate in a competitive adult world. In elaborating her wish for a full-time job she expresses at great length her conviction that one could obtain a job only by "pull," by adult protection and help. The partial truth in this statement is likely to foster a defeatist attitude in young people toward economic independence based on individual merits.

The difficulties Mary had to encounter on each job are due to conflicts within the family. It becomes evident that Mary's vocational choice as well as her functioning on a job are directly influenced by her personal conflict, which she acts out in regard to new authoritative people and to new relationships which she must meet. Improvement expressed by her liking the job, the girls, and even the supervisor is then an obvious reflection of the emotional growth that enables her to meet demands on a more mature and less subjective level. As long as her emotional development is arrested, the vocational situation becomes a field in which she enacts her personal conflicts, a field which presents her with difficulties of a projective character.

Although the vocational problems are partly worked out dur-

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ing the interview period, there remain concepts concerning the future which vary in accordance with Mary's emotional situation at the time. Mary's distrust of marital happiness is, of course, largely determined by the parental relationship which she has observed. Therefore she is compelled to reiterate that she will never marry. She at least will never want to marry an artist or a musician or an Italian. The later interviews make it clear that Mary's choice has been determined by the affectional feelings that she still possesses toward her father, feelings which in her particular choice of a potential mate have been subjected to denial. In the matter of marriage Mary frequently changes her mind, revealing her own insecurity and ambivalence in her family relationships.

The same changing attitude is manifested in her ideas about having children. Although she wishes to have "a boy and a girl" Mary feels discouraged at times about taking the risk of rearing a child. Overwhelmed by her own feeling of being exploited by her mother, she worries about what she herself might do to a child. The criticism of her mother, implicit in this worry, is self-evident. The occasions on which Mary decides not to have children of her own correspond significantly with open criticism of or hostility to her mother. On one occasion she accuses her mother of disapproving of her writing poems about boys, of making her feel guilty for thinking about sex, and of preventing her from growing up. The other occasion, which is followed by a similar self-denial with regard to having children, occurs when she is in open rebellion against her mother, rejecting her during the time that she herself is in love with Charles.

It thus becomes evident that Mary's concepts regarding adulthood and her anticipation of the future in terms of vocation, marriage, children, and other problems contain essential elements of the present emotional situation and therefore, as growth progresses, assume shifting emphasis and content.

INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS

At adolescence intellectual activities are likely to assume the most varied significances. The high premium that our culture, particularly in education, places on intellectual performance and

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superiority predetermines that this field should frequently be selected for the display of compensatory strivings and emotional investments. Any intellectual attack on problems can become endowed with aggressive competitive tendencies; or, on the other hand, avoidance of intellectual endeavors may represent discouragement and defeat in the realm of personal relationships. In many instances intellectual pursuits are not used at all by the individual to work out specific personal problems, because other areas offer a more adequate outlet.⁸

Mary's attendance at night college, for example, represents in the first place an act intended to compensate for her unsuccessful social adjustment. She expects to gain in personal prestige, and she consequently becomes highly resentful in the office when she is not consulted about spelling. Furthermore, comparison of herself with her more favorably situated relatives makes it seem likely that college education represents a restitution of the family status and a fulfillment of her father's promise.

Mary's interest in her studies is never very real. Her remarks do not disclose any particular field of outstanding accomplishment. Though she likes Spanish best during the first semester, she later turns her interest to government because the teacher in this course appeals to her. She has no vital interest in the actual learning process itself; what she is after is the prestige attached to it. Similarly, Mary idealizes the intellectual college boy, but she actually prefers the non-academic boy whom she meets at dance halls. Mary's growing responsiveness to people and her increased spontaneity quite naturally reduce her drive to gain prestige through education.

Mary has never read much; at one time she developed some interest in old romantic books, but this was not followed up. She says that she would like to know more than she does. She expresses a trust in the power of knowledge, for at moments knowledge appears to be the only secure insurance against disaster in her own life, the only help for living differently, better, more intelligently than her parents. On the basis of that belief, she

⁸ Mary's inherently limited capacity, the lack of intellectuality at home, the mother's indifference to academic achievement are the factors causing Mary to make little use of this area in working out her personal problems.

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wishes to study philosophy, expecting to arrive through such a study at a better understanding of all her other subjects. Mary is groping here for a meaning, a fundamental security, that she does not seem able to acquire through courses in other subjects. To insure herself of an intelligent upbringing of her own child, she hopes to take courses in social work and psychology. In addition to an implicit indictment against her own upbringing, this scheme reveals again the characteristic belief in knowledge as a mighty weapon for averting unhappiness.

During the time of social and personal readjustment, intellectual activity and achievement undergo some change. She stops writing, she withdraws energy and time from her college work, she passes her term examination with only marginal grades. This demonstrates that Mary's emotional development throughout the interview period, bringing with it her progressive awareness and acceptance of her emotionality, has a decided effect upon her attitude toward learning and intellectual achievement. The speed with which these changes take place during the time of the interviews does not allow Mary to reach a workable balance between intellectual activities and social experimentation.

SELF-EXPRESSIVE ACTIVITIES

The arts represent a medium through which adolescents can express their feelings in a disguised and depersonalized form on a culturally valued level. The process of formulating an emotional response in words or transposing it into equivalents of visual symbols results in a profound relief from tension. It consequently restores a feeling of self-assurance and self-content, but it is most likely to achieve this end if the situation is void of competitiveness and without undue emphasis on the objective quality of the product. Self-expressive activities may, therefore, contribute to emotional growth by virtue of their potentiality for encouraging a release of tension through emotional discharge in a sublimated form. In order to preserve this educative power embodied in the arts, emphasis must be diverted from mere evaluation of the esthetic qualities and turned toward an appraisal of the personal experience and its genuineness.

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Mary illustrates in very simple terms the release mechanism employed through poetry. The material throws light upon the importance that expression in the arts assumes when more direct approaches of dealing with conflict situations are obstructed. The medium of the literary arts had already appealed to Mary in high school. Imaginative situations in dramatics appealed to her as a chance to overcome the shyness that handicapped her in life situations. She tries this remedy again in college, unfortunately with the same negative result because of her lack of real talent. Despite the teacher's rebuke, Mary continues to write poetry, but this is not appreciated by the club. Therefore she finally brings some of her poetry to the worker; he reacts positively, taking into account only what it signifies to Mary.

It is apparent that Mary uses this form of verbal expression to unload her mind of unpleasant experiences ("Stand-up," "Men," "Fickle Freddie") or to produce pleasurable experiences of a day-dream nature ("Real Love"). The areas of her conflicts can be found in condensed form in these four poems. They are recognizable through their thin disguise, and quite naïvely verbalized. As soon as Mary begins to work out her conflicts in terms of relationships, her literary productivity diminishes and almost disappears. After the break with John she again takes refuge in poetry, but she is somewhat conflicted by the fact that her mother disapproves of her writing about boys and love. It is fair to say that Mary drops John the moment the relationship becomes invested with disturbing sexual feelings and associations; she then continues in fantasy what could not be brought to a satisfactory solution in reality.

Despite repeated rejection of her poetry, Mary clings to her belief that she has talent in writing. This conviction is based on a strong identification with her father, manifesting itself in her artistic ambitions. Mary thinks that she and her father are alike in many ways and have the "artistic temperament" in common: references to this theme are repeated in stereotyped fashion in several interviews. The artistic trend, then, sets Mary and her father off against the mother and Phil, dividing the family into two distinct groups, temperamentally different from each other. On a number of occasions she also expresses a desire to study music.

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The final acceptance of her father and the final appreciation of his musical talent affect her attitude toward her own artistic endeavor; at this point she no longer needs an artistic medium to assure her of a closeness to her father, nor to withdraw from people into a fantasy world.

STANDARDS

Since adolescence represents an intermediary stage between childhood and adulthood, a change of status necessarily takes place during this period. But there is no clearly defined status for adolescents: the impositions and inconsistencies of adults create either rebellion or submissiveness, with shifts between the two extremes and gradations in each. As in all new emotional situations, experimentation usually leads to extremes before a more balanced reaction pattern becomes established. This applies not only to demands for adult status, which frequently appear exorbitant to adults, but also to regressive behavior in times of perplexity and confusion. And these extremes obtain particularly in relation to standards. A wavering attitude on the part of the adolescent is usually prevalent in questions of standards, and contradictory demands will often be observed.

Standards, as regulative patterns of conduct in relation to age, sex, socio-economic grouping, religion, and race, offer an opportunity to transpose family configurations into these broader fields, and to work out, in relation to these more depersonalized categories, conflicts of a highly personal nature. In troubling situations the need for the protection and security granted in earlier years evokes attitudes and behaviors that once guaranteed a less conflicted form of life.

Emotional life at adolescence is still controlled by parental authority or its introjected representation called conscience; in fact, this inner reflection of the parents is the first help called upon at the time when new feelings, sensations, and desires confront the maturing individual. The field of standards offers him an opportunity to work out the problems of emotional independence, a prerequisite for eventual mature social adaptability. It is, therefore, common to find the adolescent in the field of standards

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dramatizing his emotional emancipation from the family in a form that is in accord with his emotional situation within the family group.

The heterogeneity of American culture is likely to contribute to the friction which may arise in a society wherever there is a group without any defined status. Such a group, then, as the group of adolescents develops its own subculture through symbolization of its fundamental needs, a process that can be considered as an attempt to socialize individual and personal experiences and strivings. The fact that many of these attempts run counter to adult codes of conduct necessarily produces conflicts of many different kinds and varying degrees.

Mary's difficulties in her social adjustment are partly due to the conflict between the standards of her Catholic-Italian background and those of the American metropolitan groups to which she belongs, particularly with respect to her vocational, educational, and communal associations. The resulting personal conflict is another manifestation of Mary's strong dependency on her parents; in the rejection of Italian standards and of Italians in general she expresses her attempt to grow beyond the family group and to establish wider social relationships. The reason Mary gives for looking down upon Italians is their inability to adjust to the American culture and their tendency to adhere to old traditions. In terms of Mary's individual life, this state of affairs is an accurate picture of her own struggle; she blames her Italian background, represented by her parents, for her social inadequacy and failure.

There is no doubt that the Italian standards Mary's family preserves amidst divergent cultural influences represent a source of conflict. Her body build, plump and rather short, emphasizes her Italian descent and stands in obvious contrast to American ideals. Italian standards also create conflict concerning Mary's going out with boys, because Italian parents assume that if a girl goes out with a boy, the two ought to get married. For that reason Mary's experimentation with numerous boys gives her a feeling of guilt and inappropriateness, which accounts for her temporary withdrawals. Because of her background Mary is more restrained than American girls; she therefore repudiates showy clothes which too

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obviously reveal an intention to attract the other sex. Her inability to apply make-up in front of other girls is also related to opposing cultural standards, and it illustrates how the heterogeneity in mores complicates social adjustment, especially for those who belong to a minority group. Because of her feeling of being different and incapable of behaving like other girls of her age and group, Mary is never accepted by the girls in the office; they treat her as an outsider and a child. Anxious to live up to the expected standards, Mary forces herself to laugh at risqué stories and jokes despite the fact that she does not like them. The inconsistency of her behavior, being modest and pretending to be frivolous at other times, results in a confusing state of insecurity in regard to social intercourse.

Because Mary is unable to establish herself in her age group, she cannot renounce her childhood status in the family. Willing to accept her mother's authority and strictness in sex behavior, putting herself on the level of a child, she says, "That's the way a mother should be with her child, I mean with her daughter." This expresses Mary's degree of dependence and explains why she so frequently quotes her mother's opinions on social behavior. Though she discusses with her mother her experiences with boys, even reporting to her when and how often she had kissed her boy friend, Mary accepts her mother's scolding as a just punishment. With progressing emancipation and increasing self-assurance, however, Mary discontinues the customary confidence and, by doing so, she indicates a shift in relationship which the mother is not able to face.

The abandonment of once valid standards, which for Mary symbolized parental orientation and domination, takes place gradually. Her awakening sense of feminine competition arouses her interest in clothes and initiates her experimentation with them. Disregarding her mother's advice, Mary leaves the dance hall alone with a boy and comes home at late hours. She kisses boys frequently and even goes so far as to do so in front of the house in an open car, knowing that her mother had asked her not to make this public display. Finally Mary begins to go steadily with one boy, despite the mother's dislike for such an exclusive and affectionate attachment. While in love with Charles, Mary comes

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home repeatedly at four o'clock in the morning. Suddenly the mother becomes stern and tells her that she will no longer let her in at such a late hour. On this occasion Mary feels like leaving home. Another motive for Mary's coming home so late lies in her heightened sensitivity while in love, and during this experience the contact with her mother, with whom she shares a bed, becomes increasingly repulsive and threatening. Emotionally Mary is indeed leaving home, partially through the process of establishing her own standards of conduct and morals. How far she has advanced at this time in being able to see her family objectively, because she has found satisfactory relationships and experiences elsewhere, is significantly revealed by her changed attitude toward divorce and remarriage. Both now seem desirable ways of helping the mother endure her daughter's emotional estrangement and independence.

Acceptance, rejection, ambivalence in relation to standards, therefore, change significantly in accordance with Mary's emotional development. Obviously, the fact that she lives in a culture with heterogeneous patterns of conduct and appreciations influences her to work out certain of her personal problems in this area.

RELIGION

The adolescent's concern with religious or philosophical ideas is universally recognized. Great diversity exists in the dynamics of such interests. Often religion does not enter at all as a source of inquietude or conflict into the adolescent's life. No general inference can be made, therefore, except that this area appeals to certain adolescents as a medium for orienting themselves. Such spiritual orientation reflects the adolescent's leaving the family and establishing himself as an individual in a wider cultural world.

Mary is a girl brought up in a Catholic family in which religious traditions have been accepted without question as part of their life. Mary herself never directly questions the authority of the Church; nevertheless she illustrates how the Church and parental authority reappear during adolescence in the same close relation which they originally held for the individual during childhood.

On questions of sex behavior Mary presumably follows the

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Church, but she avoids making any inquiry about its attitude toward kissing. Kissing, a self-indulgent form of sex behavior in her code of morals, is confessed to her mother, and the Church's opinion about it is merely queried. However, she asserts that she would stop immediately if the Church does not approve of it. Because of her conflicting standards, Mary feels that punishment must follow pleasure and indulgence, and she sometimes imposes it upon herself by withdrawal and renunciation. The conflict between her impulse life and her conscience, inaugurated in early infancy, appears again at adolescence as primarily a religious or moral issue. It can be recognized also in her affirmation that morals are far more important than looks, made at a time when she is excessively concerned with her appearance. To what an extent the Church had established itself in Mary's mind as an agent prohibiting any sexual expression becomes obvious from her statement that the Church is getting liberal because it now urges people to marry and have children.

Compromising with the demands of the Church as if they were actually issued by a person, Mary is accustomed to spell out the swear words she wants to use. At the time of her friendship with Charles, Mary has a serious quarrel with her mother. After this, hurt and angry, she does not pray: "I didn't feel like praying. What's the use of praying, if nobody is good to me anyhow." The refusal to pray, as an expression of her resentment toward her mother, illustrates how religious attitudes are endowed with reactions to parents and how personal problems are dealt with indirectly through the medium of religious attitudes, concepts, or rituals.

3. The Interview Situation: its Dynamics and its Effect upon Social Adjustment

Up to this point Mary's development has been described in its various aspects, but her relationship to the worker has not yet been adequately considered. That relationship appears to have been so largely responsible for the changes that occurred during the interview period that a separate discussion of it seems advisable. Such a procedure finds additional justification in the fact that interpersonal relationships, through which normal development may be effectively assisted, enter into the daily work of all who teach and counsel other persons.

It is a well-known fact that an individual experiences any new situation in terms of the accumulated experiences of the past; relationships are no exception. The fact must be kept in mind that the adult as well as the child is inclined to act on the basis of his own past.⁹ This does not mean that it is necessary or always desirable in a relationship with a given person to pry into his past for the factual basis of his behavior. It is, however, important that teachers and counselors comprehend how those past experiences operate in present situations, especially during adolescence, and how such situations may be handled to promote normal development. The teacher's ability to understand the meaning of behavior inevitably influences his attitudes and procedures with young people.

Adolescence is here conceived as a period during which infantile emotional responses become reactivated and essentially reoriented. They must be modified in two ways if the individual is to achieve social adaptations in keeping with his newly acquired status of physical and intellectual maturity. First, they must undergo change in terms of aims: the need for protection, for ex-

⁹ For additional material on this point, see below, "The teacher and the adolescent," pp. 500 ff.

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ample, becomes a desire to give protection. Secondly, they must be modified in terms of their objects: the affectional component of the child-parent relationship, for example, becomes attached to persons outside the family and fused with sexual desires. The process of modifying early patterns seldom occurs smoothly and never quickly. Progress is naturally irregular, interspersed with regressions and stand-stills. The shifting of patterns of feeling, behavior, and attitudes comes about because of the increasing difficulty of exposing them in their original context, the family. It is of profound importance, therefore, that the adolescent be permitted to experiment in new relationships, the sole purpose of which, initially, is to permit acting out customary patterns, often infantile in character, preparatory to attaining new and more mature adaptations.

Attempts to reorient infantile strivings in terms of new relationships, interests, and identifications are apt to entail difficulties and strains. Because of these tensions, the adolescent easily interprets new experiences solely in terms of his acute problem. A boy with intensified rebellion against paternal domination may react with rebellion to any action or statement which seems to him to be aimed at restriction—however minor or justified it may be—of his scope of self-determination. Or the feeling of guilt arising from sexual interests and sensations may become attached to any slight insignificant criticism, which then becomes convincing proof of the fact that he is worthless and therefore disliked and rejected.

Undesirable behavior during adolescence is often due to an emotional conflict in relation to the family transferred into a situation which, to the adolescent, is equivalent in psychological meaning. The conflict may consist merely of the tendency to renew early patterns of relationships within the family and the rejection of such a trend. This normally results in the need to work out adaptations in an extra-familial social medium. Experiences in early affectional relationships exert a profound influence upon conduct during adolescence and determine the kind of relationship that a given adolescent seeks or avoids. A girl may, for example, look for protection in an affectional relationship with a woman teacher and then resent any corrections as an infringement of her liberties, for similar corrections were once imposed

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by her mother. The adolescent's choice of persons reveals his subjective interpretation of his family experiences and present circumstances, and his selection is determined to a great extent by the momentary phase of his emotional and physical development.

Reactions that are quite out of all proportion to the circumstances evoking them frequently find an explanation in this transfer of unresolved relationships. The incongruity frequently encountered between the adult's offerings and the adolescent's response, so well known as to need no elaboration, is similarly to be explained on this basis. The adolescent's reactions are likely, at first sight, to be confusing in their variability and inconsistency. But they are of profound importance for his normal development. His final attainment of emotional or social maturity depends to a large extent on the opportunities afforded him to work out the reactivated relationships both within and outside the family.

Many adolescent relationships, such as friendships, crushes, and so forth, are of a temporary character because their main object is to permit experimentation with new powers and early patterns for the working out of acute conflicts. They are in the nature of tools and for that reason are lightly discarded once they have served their purpose. Knowledge and acceptance of their experimental and purposive nature make it possible to anticipate reactions that must normally be expected. Adolescent relationships will tend to be unstable. Phases of very positive feeling will alternate with periods of withdrawal. Confidence may be followed by reticence. Strong identification or periods of demonstrative affection may be followed by indifference or aversion: this is frequently observed in the dissolution of a crush. Unfortunately, temporary reticence or withdrawal are often interpreted by adults as signs of a discontinued relationship, instead of a significant phase of it; unforeseen and abrupt discontinuation by adults may deprive the relationship with an adolescent of its constructive possibilities.

Through a trial-and-error method, therefore, the adolescent learns to modify the aims and objects of his feeling life. He transfers components of his family relationships, in one form or another, to other persons. By doing so he reorients his emotional life and thus advances toward social maturity. This does not hold true, however, under all circumstances. Emotional problems of

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relationships, instead of being transferred, are sometimes temporarily absorbed by manipulative, creative, or intellectual activities, as illustrated in the case of Paul. Explanations for all these reactions can be found in the family constellation of the adolescent, in his unique life history, as well as in the opportunities his environment offers and values. Because an insight into adolescent interpersonal behavior is considered to be of paramount importance for educational procedures, the interviews with Mary will now be examined in order to clarify her behavior as documented by the case material.

In order to understand the total interview situation the worker's personality merits a brief characterization. He is an outgoing, natural, and lively person, who has had an extremely wide range of experiences and is aware of the influence they exert on his reactions. He is attentive and alert about details, inventive and intuitive in keeping up the flow of conversation during an interview. Because of Mary's strong preferences with regard to men's complexion, it is important to note that he has dark hair and is often taken to be of Mediterranean racial descent.

During the first interview, Mary is quiet and rather reserved as the worker explains the purpose of the study and asks for her coöperation. The implication that her ideas are considered a contribution of value pleases her. She responds very positively and anticipates future talks with great pleasure. In this reaction lies the beginning of a relationship which passes through manifold stages.

In the second interview, the worker displays a positive reaction to Mary: he discovers that she is really "quite a nice-looking girl." He develops interest in her, a reaction which indicates and is felt by Mary as an emotional response, a personal interest in her. He assures her that she has a normal and pleasant voice, thus giving her his approval. This prompts Mary to give in return: she discloses to him the acute conflict about her artistic ability. It is interesting to note that this is equivalent to revealing, in a somewhat disguised form, her conflict of loyalties within the family, her central problem. She and her father have been bound together in an exclusive relationship by the artistic talent which they alone, as opposed to Phil and her mother, possess in common. It

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is for that reason that her artistic aspirations are of great importance to her at first, but fade out beyond recognition with the solution of her conflict.

Because of her family constellation Mary readily transfers the frustrated relationship with her father to the worker and seeks to find in the relationship to him a fulfillment of her need for paternal interest and love. She tries to win his confidence, sympathy, and affection. She does this by smiling frequently and by finally volunteering to bring him her poetry, her "deepest secrets." This impulsive move is followed by retention: she forgets to bring the poems to the next interview. Because she craves attention and assurance, Mary turns eagerly to the worker as a man who is sincere about his interest in and understanding of her. At the third interview, she appears with a different hairdress. Since the worker fails to comment on it, she draws his attention to it. She confesses her isolation both in the family and among her contemporaries and also discloses her father's desertion. The worker, in order to show his interest in her, suggests ways of improving her appearance by mending her glasses.

Primarily, however, it is the deeply personal and significant meaning of the material given the worker in the third interview that intensifies her feelings for him and her dependence upon him. Again this results in a period of withdrawal, in a negative phase which is the reaction to that intensity. For the first time, after being prompt for three interviews, she arrives an hour late. The worker does not express disapproval upon her arrival but is just as friendly as usual. Again Mary has to point out to him the change in her appearance, new glasses. She is eager to receive appreciation from him. Since the interview is shortened by her tardiness, no new material is brought out. The worker again expresses his interest in the poems which she has forgotten and encourages her to continue with her writing.

This prompts her to bring her poems to the fifth interview. The outburst of confidence represented by the gesture again leads to withdrawal, resulting in a very short and indifferent sixth interview. Any phase of emotional release and disclosure in Mary is invariably followed by a period of retention and indifference.

In the above, some characteristics of the transference situation

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have been briefly described and the first fluctuations of the relationship have been indicated. Summarizing, it may be said that Mary transfers her father-relationship to the worker and develops affectional feelings which cause her to share her "deepest secrets": these deal exclusively with love and the battle between the sexes. She also expresses her resentment toward her father and becomes similarly ambivalent toward the worker: this she indicates through forgetting to bring her poems and by her tardiness. The unvarying positive attitude of the worker, a sign of unconditional acceptance, makes her feel intensely attracted to him. By developing this attachment she becomes increasingly fond of him and repeats through adolescent reactivation the original relationship to her father, which she now tries to modify and work out in the substitute situation of the interview. But at its crucial point—namely, at the moment when it threatens to become too affectionate and personal—this new relationship must be modified basically and redirected. She then develops rather suddenly a progressively strong interest in boys. From that time on this interest in its various stages stands at the center of the interviews. After this turning point, the worker functions as the sympathetic representative of adult approval or disapproval, that is, of conscience. Mary herself expresses the shift in her relationship. In the third interview, trying to awaken a response in the worker, she says, "Of course I want to be nice-looking, but I try not to go too far. For instance, I think my hair is quite nice. Maybe you've noticed that I've changed my hairdress." By the eighth interview she has given up her attempt to obtain such a response from the worker and has substituted a desire for moral approval. "Appearance is important, but personality and moral ideals are much more important." Here she covers her face with her hands. "It's really quite terrible to say it, but I like blond men." Once more she apologizes for her preference.

As usual, the worker approves of her behavior: he "encouraged her to talk some more about it," indicating that the change in the relationship between them has been accepted by him, that she need not feel guilty about it. Significantly Mary's reaction to the worker's consistent approval of her conduct is not always positive in nature, particularly when he approves of her sexual interests,

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fantasies, and conduct. His acceptance of behavior that she has previously learned to disapprove creates a great deal of anxiety and insecurity within her: it places her in a position where she will have to discard either the worker and that for which he stands or her former beliefs and standards. Either course will create difficulties.

For example, in the ninth interview, the worker expresses his approval of her interest in boys. His attitude frightens Mary; she does not keep her next appointment, neither does she call up to cancel it. In the tenth interview her tone has become much more restrained: she elaborates a protective code of conduct and avoids mentioning John, the boy who had been the center of her feelings and conversation the previous time. However, one important theme is added in this tenth interview: the conflict with her mother, as a disapproving and restraining agent in her life. Exactly the same sequence repeats itself in the eleventh and twelfth interviews: disclosure of sexual interests, approved by the worker implicitly through his attitude, results in cancellation of the next appointment; and the following interview is then taken up with a discussion of work, singing, mother, and so forth. Work and music, in this context, represent efforts toward sublimation, whereas Mary's explicit criticism of her mother indicates the disintegration and reorganization of her conscience and ego-ideal. She slowly forces herself away from family domination and childlike dependence toward self-reliance and independent judgment. Any move toward emotional independence is, however, accompanied by a feeling of guilt. The worker acts as a valuable ally in assisting her to overcome this reaction through giving her support and understanding during the period of rapid emotional growth.

None of Mary's problems was solved by discussion or explanation, in the narrow sense of the word. The important changes come about through the emotional release and insight which she experiences by sharing with the worker her feelings, thoughts, memories, anxieties, and aspirations. Explanatory phrases to the effect that worries about the body are common to people of her age, that her confusing relationship to boys is influenced by her relation-

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ship with her father gain an intellectual understanding, but their value stops short at that. These merely intellectual explanations would have been wasted efforts on the part of the worker, had they not perhaps served the purpose of giving the conversation, at times, a touch of the rational and natural. Of prime importance are the emotional relationship with the worker, into which Mary transfers her unresolved conflicts, and the worker's ability to use that relationship constructively.

The transference situation is instrumental for Mary in working out her conflicts. They contain inherent elements of earlier unresolved relationships, taken up in the interview situation at the point where they had been previously dropped without satisfactory solution. Assisted by the worker Mary is able to express hostile feelings toward her parents as well as affectional ones, particularly toward her father. Each criticism voiced constitutes an emotional release, prompts a feeling of guilt, and provokes an attempt at reparation. Frequent examples of this sequence occur in the records. Mary praises her mother and affirms her good relationship to her whenever she had previously criticized her severely. Perhaps the most striking illustration is to be found in the twenty-second interview. Mary criticizes her mother and expresses her physical revulsion. Then she begins to praise her mother: she "looks very young and is extremely energetic and capable. She is a good cook, an efficient housekeeper, and is always busy . . . possesses much more energy than she does. It is only because of her mother's energy and efficiency that they live as well as they do."

Finally, with the worker's assistance, Mary's guilt is diminished and with it her need to un-do her actions or to make reparation. Growing tolerance of her own instinctual life, her jealousy, and her anger makes her simultaneously more tolerant of similar feelings in other people and better able to deal with them within herself.

The relationship between Mary and the worker shows in accentuated relief some outstanding characteristics of interpersonal behavior and its dynamics. These are likely to occur normally at adolescence in intensified form. In order to permit Mary to free

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herself from the worker, by slowly organizing a stronger self-sufficiency and independence, the termination of the relationship is carefully prepared in advance. It is mentioned for the first time some ten weeks before it actually happens; the last five interviews are spaced at bi-weekly instead of weekly intervals. Nevertheless the imminent closing of the interviews brings out a great deal of highly emotional material; because of this the worker is forced to add a few appointments in order to help Mary regain her balance. He even promises to see her after the summer at his home if she wishes. This promise of support if it should be needed makes it easier for Mary to go forward on her own again and to handle her life independently. The fact that she appears promptly for the last interview indicates, perhaps, that she is attempting to re-establish a normal attitude toward the interview situation and that she is withdrawing the emotional investments which had previously determined her tardiness. The compromise with her mother's demands, the acceptance of herself, her improved relation with other people, the objective attitude toward her father and toward remarriage of her mother testify to the emotional development and maturation which have come about through the thoughtful and understanding use of a relationship, conceived as an instrument to foster normal growth.

How profoundly her contacts with the worker affected Mary's family relationships has become progressively clear. Any relationship such as that recorded here may have a somewhat similar effect, particularly at adolescence. Especially when the relationship has as its basic theme parent-child conflicts, the adolescent will readily develop new affectional bonds, allegiances, and identifications. As in Mary's case, these changes are necessarily felt by the parents as an undermining of the emotional balance within the family group. For that reason, parents who, like Mary's mother, seek to maintain the accustomed balance because of their own needs, will resist adjustment in their child. One must be prepared, in a relationship with an adolescent, for the reactions of parents who are faced with a deprivation which they are not ready to accept. This possibility sometimes has to be made clear to the adolescent, who will often show quite mature willingness and ability to manipulate the situation. The importance of emo-

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tional emancipation from the family and the general attempt to achieve it through relationships which are instrumental for this purpose open an avenue for constructive assistance which the educator, in his varied functions, may give an adolescent at the time his development is most in need of it.

The Case of Joe

For a number of reasons Joe's interview material recommended itself for study. It not only provided informational data about adolescent group life in metropolitan cellar clubs, but it also brought out in sharp relief some of the subtle problems of interpersonal behavior as displayed by Joe and the worker. It must be recalled at this point that the interviews, such as those conducted with Joe or Mary, were set up for the purpose of gaining information and insight relevant to the behavior of youth, their daily problems, their conflicts, anxieties, and needs. No attempt was made to render a guidance service, despite the recognized urgency which a subject may have sometimes shown for such intervention. In terms of this purpose the worker's attitude and approach during the interviews will be better understood. Finally, the case took on a special value after a follow-up study had been conducted, for the additional information threw a new light upon events preceding, coinciding with, and following the time of the interviews and made it possible to place the interview material in a time perspective. This circumstance, indeed, facilitated a more reliable evaluation of the behavior recorded in the interviews.

I. Interview Records

SUMMARY OF NOTATIONS ON JOE'S PERSONNEL RECORD CARD

The information which was available to the worker at the opening of the interviews is given here in summarized form. The data were collected from questionnaires devised by the National Youth Administration and routinely administered to all who applied for Part-time Project jobs.

I. *Identifying data*

Age at opening of interviews: 16-10.
Birthplace: city where he now lives
Religion: Protestant
Marital status of parents: united
Birthplace of parents: city where Joe now lives
Members of household: father, mother, sister, Joe, brother
Age of siblings: sister 14, brother 9
Occupation of father: fish dealer
Occupation of mother: housewife
Relief status: home relief

II. *Education*

School attended: public school until grade 10
Major subjects: academic, typing
Date of leaving full time day school: June, 1935 (age, 15-5)
Reason for leaving school: appeared older than school mates and not interested in courses given
Vocational high school: part time, 1935-1936. Subject studied: wood-carving
School attended at present: continuation school
"Which course would you like to study if you had the opportunity?": "None"

III. *Income used*

To seek job: "carfare"
To help family: "general budget"
To purchase clothes: "suit"
For education: "no"
For recreation: "club activities"

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IV. *Employment*

Vocational guidance: never received

Occupation preferred: "Greyhound bus driver, from coast to coast"

First employment: one month in industry (manufacturing of kitchen utensils) as office assistant, July, 1935

INTERVIEWS

First Interview

November 6, 1936

Joe is sixteen years and ten months old, a tall, broad boy with dark curly hair and an open, red-cheeked face. He was very friendly right from the start, shook hands vigorously with the worker, and smiled. He made some sort of joking reference to his police record.

The worker began to explain the purpose of the study, but Joe interrupted. "My whole trouble is in my build. I am overdeveloped." This handicaps him, he explained, when applying for a job because people always take him for a much older boy. "They want me to drive a car, and I'm not seventeen yet and can't get a license." Next January, on his seventeenth birthday, he'll be able to get a junior driver's license, which, however, "is no good because you can't drive after dark, and there are a lot of regulations about it." He could probably get a senior driver's license by going to the next state, he said, but thinks this would be somewhat too complicated. "Boy, I sure am waiting for the time when I'll be eighteen and can have my regular license."

Joe's NYA assignment is to take care of the locker room at the YMCA, under a supervisor who "is considered a louse by all the fellows." He works on Monday and Wednesday, from 4:00 P. M. to 9:30 P. M., and earns \$22 a month, which he turns over to his family in full, he said. Occasionally he manages to get odd jobs; last week he earned three dollars. Money from this source he keeps for himself.

Questioned about schools, he said that he lacks two years for graduation from high school. "I quit school and I'm certainly not planning to go back. I wasn't the least bit interested in what they give you." The teachers were very nice, he said, and he had no criticism to make about the curriculum. "I just wasn't inter-

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ested." The only subject he enjoyed was English, particularly oral composition. "I sure like to talk!" At present he attends continuation school, which he described calmly and without hostility as a "waste of good money." But he is eagerly looking forward to becoming seventeen, when he won't have to go anymore. He then spoke of some friend of his, who is "sort of dumb but yet smart. He sure needs more education, although he's not much interested in school, but I think it will be good for him because he's good at figuring, and I think he's not so dumb."

During the course of the conversation, he complained several times about his size and weight. "I've been gaining weight lately, and if I gain any more, I'll just have to go off somewhere, just like I did over a year ago, when I ran away from school for two weeks with three other boys. We bummed our way on freight cars, talked to a lot of people, got mixed up with girls, you know the way boys do. We tried to get jobs, but couldn't get them. The family didn't know where I was, and the police were after me, but I'll tell you they never can catch me because I can always raise whiskers and a beard. I soon found out that it's hard to get along without money, and I came home. My father took me to the police station because they had reported my running away to the police. The captain lectured me, you know the way they always do."

Asked what he would like to do for a living, Joe repeatedly said that he wanted to drive a truck. "Well, it isn't very good work, but I guess it's all right." Questioned about other interests, he said, "You sure got me. I don't know what I would like to do. I just don't know at all." Then he said that he is interested in baseball and basketball, and would like to get on some team and become a professional baseball player. He doesn't play much at present and has only a vague idea about the possibilities of professional playing. He said, very naively, that he was trying to get a few kids together to form a small team. "My sister said get into baseball or something. You know, I was just talking about baseball to her," he added, apparently in excuse.

When sex education was mentioned, he appeared completely at ease and commented enthusiastically, "You sure said it. I think this is the most important thing for the schools, but they don't

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tell you anything about it. Well, I took some biology, but it didn't say anything about it, just about little animals. Well, I haven't taken advanced biology; maybe that talks about it. All that I know about it I picked up from the other boys. You see, I look so much older than the rest of the kids that the older boys and men talk in front of me about all these things, so I guess I know quite a bit."

The worker asked whether Joe would be interested in coming for further interviews. "I sure like to chat," he replied enthusiastically. "I'll come in whenever you say." He has free time on Tuesday and Friday mornings. On Thursdays he works from 9:00 A. M. to 10:00 P. M. and makes a little extra money. "The NYA isn't supposed to know about it." The worker assured him that this office had no connection with the National Youth Administration. "Oh sure, don't be foolish," Joe replied, "I know that." The worker then told him about many of his own experiences in job-hunting, "working in highway construction gangs, lumber camps, hotels, and just bumming around." This elicited great enthusiasm from Joe. "Boy!" he exclaimed, "I sure like to talk about these things." When he was ready to leave the office, he shook the worker's hand for a long time and said in his typically friendly manner, "I'm awfully glad I met you and I sure will be in when you tell me to come."

Throughout the interview, Joe seemed extremely self-assured and completely master of the situation. His speech, however, reveals a peculiar hesitation: when beginning a sentence, he is very likely to repeat the first two words several times. He talks very rapidly and jumps from one topic to another, constantly interrupting either the worker or his own train of thought.

Second Interview

November 24, 1936

Joe arrived a whole hour late. He apologized, and said that he had had to stop for a while in the main office to talk about some matter. Then he laughed and said, "Well, I really overslept this morning." (His appointment had been set fairly late in the morning, at a quarter to eleven.)

The worker asked whether anything new had happened in the past two weeks. "Oh, nothing. I just stay at home and do nothing

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and I'm ready to go crazy." He laughed. "You know, it's just like me." Then he began to talk at length about his wanting to get a job and the difficulties in finding one. He has made no attempt to secure work since he was last interviewed. "There's no use in reading the 'ads' because you just can't get a job that way." Asked whether he had tried any of the employment agencies, he said, "Well, no. What can I tell them I know how to do, or want to do—be a gigolo? No, the only way you can get a job is through pull."

He changed the topic to a discussion of his age and of his weight, which is two hundred pounds.¹ After a time, the worker explained a basal metabolism test and volunteered that such a test could be arranged if Joe wished. Up to this point, Joe had been talking very freely about his size. Now he suddenly retreated and said, "Oh, there's nothing to it. I really don't worry about it. I never even think about it." The topic was dropped. Only once during the interview did he again refer to his health, saying that he has been trying to smoke only two or three cigarettes a day, because he has noticed that too much smoking affects his health and makes him short of breath.

Brought back to the topic of what kind of work he would like to do, Joe said that he really didn't know, but that traveling appealed to him very much. Then he launched forth into a long discussion about a friend of his who lived in Reno. "He made several thousand dollars on some deal and could have all the women he wanted out there." This fellow was perfectly all right, Joe asserted. The deal was not crooked and the fellow wasn't at all bad, although he did get into a lot of trouble when he ran over and killed a woman.

The worker asked about the attitudes of Joe's parents toward his unemployment and future ambitions. "Oh, my mother doesn't care. Well, it isn't that she doesn't care, but she lets me do whatever I want to. I could go off now for several days and she wouldn't worry about me at all. The only thing is that they don't want me to be in the fish business. You see, my father used to have three stores, but now he has only one. That's where I work on

¹ This statement is incorrect. Physical records indicate that Joe weighed 173 lbs. in November, 1936. His height at that time was 5 feet, 9 inches.

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Thursday and get my \$3.00. My mother always works in the store, too. You know, she doesn't like to do housework, just isn't that type, and always stays in the store. But she had to go to the hospital; she got sciatica. It's the fish business that poisoned her." Asked to explain what he meant by poisoning, he said, "Well, you know you have to work in a cold room and handle ice, and it's always damp and cold there. But I don't want to go into the fish business either. I want to get something where I have a chance for advancement. But I don't know what I could do. I really don't know anything."

Several times during the remainder of the interview, Joe returned to this topic of employment. He needs money badly, he said, because he can't have any fun at all now. "I hate to take a girl out and not have some three or five dollars in my pocket." A number of simple jobs were suggested as possibilities. Joe said that he would like most of all to work in a hotel. "You know, you can make good money there, and I'd like to be a bellhop. They get wise to a lot of things." He looked a bit guilty and self-conscious, then declared, "Well, I just would like to work in a hotel." Most of his time is spent at home, just doing nothing. "That's probably what makes me so fat. I know what my trouble is. I have big eyes and a small stomach, and that's why I get so fat."

Joe belongs to a small, informal club composed of about fifteen young people. They meet about once a week in the evening and sometimes have dances. He seemed reluctant to talk about the club in any detail but said that he was the secretary and had to make an address on the opening night. Accordingly he wrote a short poem, which he repeated for the worker. It expressed the hope that everybody would have a good time and that the members would not be "as dumb as the secretary" in suggesting entertainment.

Several times today, Joe referred to the fact that he is very shy. The worker remarked, "You certainly cover it up successfully. And that's very important. I often feel shy, too; many people do. The whole trick is not to show it." To this Joe responded, "Well, maybe. But I just have an awfully hard time going and asking for a job." The worker suggested that they might discuss Joe's shyness further at some time, particularly the

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specific situations which occasioned it. "What I'd like to talk some more about are different jobs and how to go about getting them. I ought to take you along so that you could do the talking for me." He reached out toward the worker and patted him on the knee.

In order to come to the office today, Joe said, he had had to take the trolley and then the bus. "You see, I really need two carfare tickets for each trip. I was talking to somebody about coming here and they said, 'What the hell, the NYA can afford to spend its money on your carfare.'" Immediately thereafter, he added, "I wouldn't worry about somebody else getting into my place on the NYA if I got a job. I'd try to keep the outside job and my NYA job too. Why should I worry about it?"

Joe readily made an appointment for next week.

Third Interview

December 1, 1936

Joe came a half hour late today, but appeared quite unaware of his tardiness. "Well, what's new?" he asked in his usual friendly manner. The worker inquired as to whether there had been any developments in his situation. Joe replied that he hadn't found a job yet and hadn't even looked for one all week. The worker then asked how Joe had spent his day yesterday. He slept until eleven o'clock, went to visit his grandmother, and then spent the evening at his club. Asked how he had spent the preceding day, he said, "I don't remember. Now, if you'd ask me about a year ago, I'd probably remember, but just a short time ago—of course I've forgotten."

Conversation then turned to the club of which Joe is secretary. It was organized about eight months ago, he said, and is doing fairly well. The boys started this club after another club, to which Joe used to belong, had disbanded. The present club has ten members, each of whom pays weekly dues of thirty-five cents. They are all boys, mostly friends of long standing. According to Joe, they all get along with each other very well. "We have a president, I'm secretary, and then there's a treasurer." He winked at the worker. "I'd sure like to be the treasurer." Joe is the only boy in the group who is an NYA recipient. The others are better off than he financially. They either have regular jobs

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or receive an allowance from their families. Most of them have more education than he has; and yet, he remarked, he feels superior to them. Joe thinks that he is the youngest of the group, but added hastily that none of the boys knows his real age. The boys rent a basement and pay fourteen dollars a month for it. Once a week or so, they have dances to which they invite other boys and girls. They usually charge admission, which makes it possible for them to serve refreshments and also gives them some money with which to buy additional furniture. Joe is busy now trying to enlarge the membership: he would like to have about twenty or thirty boys, collect dues from them, and then rent a much larger basement. At present, the boys are redecorating the club. They plan to paint the room black, with stenciled designs in silver.

Asked whether they considered admitting girls to regular membership, he said, "No, the boys don't like the idea, and I don't approve of it either. This way, when we meet, we do what we want and say what we want, and we feel quite free. If we had girls there, we wouldn't be natural. You know what I mean, we'd be sort of strange. We'd have to be polite and all that. It would be like this: we'd either all be stiff, or go too far. I know a club where they took in girl members. In no time at all, everybody stopped being polite and started to say and do all sorts of things, and the whole business turned out to be a mess. No, I think it's much better not to have girls around all the time. Then you're sort of polite to them."

Regarding Dutch treats, Joe said that he disapproved of the practice very much. Some boys like it, he added, but most boys always want to pay for the girl. "The way I figure, if you can't pay for a girl, just don't take her out. Or go with a boy." Speaking further of money, he stated that the boys at the club often play cards, and that he himself usually has pretty good luck at it. "Last Sunday I made a dollar and thirty cents. I wouldn't take money from somebody who doesn't have it, but this kid has plenty of dough, so I was glad to get it from him."

The conversation then drifted toward his family. His sister, who is fourteen years old, is mentally defective: "she isn't any smarter than a five-year-old." She is in a special class, has only recently

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learned to scribble her name, and can do only very simple arithmetic. "I don't know why she is that way. Of course, when she was a little baby, my mother was working in the store and didn't take care of her. I wonder if that could have caused it." He did not seem to be particularly embarrassed or upset while talking about his sister. But she causes considerable concern to the family, according to his report. "We can't depend on her very well. My brother, who is nine and who is okay and kind of smart, always takes her to school and brings her back home. I don't think she could cross the street by herself very well." Nine months ago this sister was sent to an institution for the feeble-minded. But the family didn't leave her there for any length of time, because Joe's father began to accuse the mother of wanting to get rid of the daughter and wanting to keep her away from home. Joe apparently agreed with his mother that it would be much better to keep her in an institution. "But my mother didn't want my father to throw it up to her, so she brought her back." His mother is also afraid, he said, that the girl may become pregnant. Joe described his sister as physically well developed and rather attractive looking. "She could easily get into trouble. Well, sometimes my mother jokes and says she hopes my sister will have a steady boy friend, and then she will be okay."

Joe reported further that his father is thirty-nine years old and his mother thirty-eight. His parents have never gotten along any too well with each other, he said, but during the past few years they have been getting along particularly poorly. Although Joe did not show any great hostility toward his father, he held him responsible for most of the trouble. Some years ago, his father spent a large sum of money by gambling it away on cards. Then, after squandering the money, he stayed away from home for two weeks. "Gambling away money is his main weakness." His father promises every so often that he will reform. "But he just can't help being what he is. He just can't keep a promise."

There are times, Joe reported, when his parents get along fairly well. Usually, however, they quarrel a great deal. His mother has wanted to leave home several times, but each time his father has talked her into staying. Joe wants to take care of his mother and says that he is impatient to get a job and do so. He does not be-

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lieve that there is the slightest possibility that the troubles between his parents can be patched up. His mother has recently returned from the hospital but is still suffering from her sciatica and cannot return to work. She had to remain in the hospital for several weeks but was glad because she received compensation for her illness, and this made it unnecessary for her husband to pay the hospital expenses. "My father can't say now that she cost him so much. He always throws it up to her that he is the one who earns the money in this family." At present Joe's mother is living with her parents. Joe visits her and his grandmother every day.

Several times today, he asked the worker if he could not find him some kind of job; he is "very anxious to get some work. This is the main reason, well, fifty per cent of the reason, why I quit school. Of course, I couldn't always live with my mother and support her. I may want to get married myself." At another time during this interview, he said that marrying would be the very last thing he would ever do, "because that's when your troubles begin."

When the WPA's Vocational Guidance Bureau was mentioned, Joe seemed to be quite interested. He said that he would be glad to go there and take the tests provided there was any hope that he would get something through it. As far as actually looking for a job is concerned, he seems to have done nothing so far and, furthermore, to be disinclined to do anything in the future. He seems to expect other people to do things for him, frequently speaking of "pull" and of other people who "could try to find a job for me," and so forth.

Joe spent a great deal of time toward the end of the interview in speaking about his friend, Bill, who is eighteen years old and a junior at college. In speaking of Bill, he displayed more emotion than he had in discussing his family. Joe is eager to help Bill find a job, because Bill is having such a hard time of it financially. Bill's father has only seasonal employment, although he belongs to a union; his mother and a thirteen-year-old brother do not work; an older sister works steadily, as does an older brother who is a lawyer.

The main concern about Bill in Joe's mind is the former's girl friend, Helen. Joe is very eager to break up the friendship be-

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tween Bill and Helen, he said. Helen is an only child, has an allowance of five dollars a week, and is quite a spoiled girl. She loves to show off, bullies other young people, and is fairly unpopular. Bill is "sort of fond of her but she's much crazier about him than he is about her. She's even tried to make up to me, because she feels that I'm trying to break up his friendship with her. The reason Bill likes her is because she has more money than he has, and when they go out together she slips a two-dollar bill into his pocket and tells him that maybe he'll need it. Sometimes they spend this money, and sometimes they don't, and then Bill just keeps it." Jokingly he added, "I'd like to be a gigolo too. I really don't see why Bill goes out with her. There are lots of other girls. He'd be much better off if he had a job and paid his own way."

Fourth Interview

December 8, 1936

Joe came on time today and was in his usual cheerful and friendly mood. He asked the worker whether he had inquired about the WPA Vocational Guidance Bureau. The worker had not yet obtained any definite information. Joe reported that he had not looked for a job this week and that things in general were still the same.

Then he began to talk about his club. It is very likely to break up, partly because three of the boys have a steady girl friend and do not help entertain the other girls when they come to the club. Joe is disgusted with these boys because he does not approve of a boy of his age going out steadily with only one girl. Another reason why the club may break up is that it needs painting and plastering, and there is no money with which to do it. One of the boys in the group offered to lend the club ten dollars to do the work, but Joe and many of the other boys did not like the idea, and thought that this fellow was just trying to "act like a big shot." "I told him right out in front of everybody that he was just trying to act big." Joe does not want to see the club break up because he has grown quite fond of it and has a certain prestige in the group. He does not want to join another club where he would be more or less of a stranger. The worker advised that the boys have a party and try to raise money in this fashion; he also suggested that the plastering and painting might be done by the

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boys themselves. Joe pointed out that the group spirit in the club was not very good and that although he himself would be willing to do such work, most of the fellows would prefer to pay the landlord to make the necessary improvements. He thought that having a party was a good idea; but he did not want to realize a profit on it. "No, I want to give these people who come even more than what they are paying for. It is always lousy when you go to a place and you think that the admission covers everything to find out you have to pay a nickel here and a dime there extra. Nobody ever likes it." He hoped, however, that he would be able to organize a party; he thinks that some fifty people could be accommodated in their club, and that as a result of the party many more new people might want to become members.

The club is to have a meeting tonight at which Joe wants to present his plans for the party. He thinks that they might send out invitations to people whom the members know casually, and charge thirty-five cents admission. For refreshments he thought he would get a keg of beer, and then, if there were not enough beer, they could run out during the party and get another keg. When the worker asked him if girls would enjoy drinking beer, he said, "No, most of them don't like beer, but what the hell, the fellows like the beer, and if the girls don't like it, they can just drink water." He also thought that he could get a few loaves of bread at a wholesale price from a baker he knows, as well as wieners and salami at a cut rate from a delicatessen-store proprietor who is quite friendly with him.

Fifth Interview

December 15, 1936

Joe came forty-five minutes late today and greeted the worker with a smile and a hearty hand-shake, but did not apologize for being late. He stayed at the office for an hour.

His club is finally disbanding. The boys decided that the only way they could "make a go" of the club was to raise the membership fee from thirty-five cents to fifty cents a week, and to assess everyone one dollar apiece, which would pay for painting the place and getting additional furniture. Most of the boys did not want to do it, and decided to sell out whatever furniture and lighting fixtures they had. They expect to realize the largest sum

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from a radio for which they paid thirty or thirty-five dollars a few months ago. They also have twenty-two dollars and some change in cash. Joe expects his share, after they sell out, to be six dollars. He thinks that they won't get much for their furniture because the couches are quite dirty and rickety and have bed-bugs in them.

Joe feels badly because the club is breaking up. He said that he could join one or two other clubs, some of whose members are his friends and have invited him to join: he doesn't know, he may do it. The trouble is, he said, that if he joins another club he will not be able to be a charter member and will not have much voice in the club's affairs. What he would enjoy most of all would be to start a club of his own with some other fellows, build it up, and make a success of it. He thinks this would be much more fun than joining a club which is already established. The two clubs which he could join have the advantage of being at some distance from his home. He doesn't want to join a club in his neighborhood. Most people there know his family: he wouldn't want to go out with girls in the neighborhood, be seen by everybody, and then be talked about.

In trying to sell the furniture and lighting fixtures of his club Joe said that he had gone to see a girl who belongs to the Socialist Club. She was quite surprised to see him, because she knows that he has no interest in political matters. Many a time in the past she had urged him to come in, but he had always said that he was not interested in this crowd, didn't want to get mixed up in their affairs, and didn't think they had any fun anyhow, because they always just sat and talked about socialism. "Why should I bother with all that?" he asked the worker.

For a while he rambled on in his conversation quite aimlessly, then again mentioned his friend who had been in Reno. "He has gone around with girls a lot and is sort of a gigolo." Soon after this, Joe told the worker that he had been quite frightened the other day when he was unable to urinate for a little while in the morning. He had been out with a girl named Ruth the night before, had intercourse with her, and was afraid he had gotten a venereal infection. A friend of his assured him that being unable to pass urine was not a sign of venereal infection, and that if he

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had contracted a disease, he would find it out in a few days. When Joe first mentioned Ruth he called her "my girl friend" but corrected himself immediately and said "one of my girl friends." At present, he said, he is not worried about having an infection because he thinks enough time has passed for it to show. Then he said that he had had intercourse with Ruth before but is getting tired of her now, because whenever he has intercourse with a girl two or three times, he becomes tired of her and gets himself another one. He also used to go out with Ruth's cousin and have intercourse with her; the two girls know that he knows them both, but try to keep secret from each other the fact that they have been intimate with him.

Joe spent some time today talking about intercourse and about the possibility of venereal infections. He said that he always uses preventatives and is quite careful to see that they have no defect. He explained his inability to pass urine the other day by the fact that he always uses lifebuoy soap after he has been with a girl; he thinks this is a good sterilizing agent. The worker told him about the frequency of venereal infections and said that he would secure the most recent information on prophylactic treatment. Joe was quite interested in this, because he has worried about infection rather frequently: once he urged a friend of his to become a physician, he said, so that the friend could tell him all about it.

The worker asked Joe if any of the boys of his acquaintance had ever had a venereal infection. Joe answered that they had all been quite lucky in this respect and had not contracted a disease. The worker also asked him if any of the girls involved had ever become pregnant, and Joe replied that they had not had any accidents. Then he said, "Believe me, if any of these girls did get pregnant, we boys would certainly stick together and say that we all had had intercourse with her. Then they couldn't do anything to any one of us." Most of the boys carry preventatives with them, he asserted. A friend of his has supplied him and other boys with pencils which have preventatives concealed inside.

Returning to the subject of Ruth, he said that before they parted the other day, she told him that she didn't want this to become a habit. Joe told her that he really didn't have to see her at all. After his comment Ruth sat silent for some twenty min-

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utes. "I really would like to get rid of her," he remarked to the worker. Joe said that it isn't very easy for him to have intercourse with girls because he cannot see them at his house, or at their house, and he doesn't have a car. "Boy, if I had a car, I could just chase all over the city. This way in the summer I have to go to the beaches, and in the winter I have to do it in our club."

The couples who want to have intercourse after they have had a party at the club usually stay in the club until everybody has left, and then turn off the lights. Usually there is only one couple at a time, but once they had three couples at the same time. He chuckled. "Once one of the girls turned on a flashlight, and the boy just knocked it out of her hand immediately." On the whole the older fellows are more interested in having intercourse with girls than are the younger boys. "That's the only thing the older fellows think about." Joe himself finds the club convenient for this purpose, but fundamentally he enjoys the club because the boys can have fun there. "I enjoy fooling around with boys, even more than having a girl, but then you know how it is."

Then he embarked on a vehement recital of how terrible venereal infections were: "The government ought to do something about it." When the worker showed interest in this idea, Joe rambled on for a long time, trying to express in very vague terms the idea that if young people were regularly employed and had more money, they would not indulge in intercourse so frequently. When the worker asked if he meant that the boys would either marry or have one steady girl friend, Joe said, "No, we could have many more girls." The worker did not press him further to explain his contradictory statements.

Toward the end of the interview, Joe said that he would like the worker to find out if there was a class conducted by the WPA in the dressing of women's hair. He said that he was going to register for a job in the State Employment Bureau, but that if he didn't get one by February, he would like to join a class in the dressing of women's hair. He is not at all interested in men's hair-cutting; what he wants to do is to marcelle women's hair and give them permanent waves. Dressing women's hair, he said, is a much easier, much more pleasant, and more remunerative occupation than cutting men's hair. To cut men's hair neatly and

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to thin it out requires more skill and is more difficult than dressing women's hair. He has watched many women's hair dressers and thinks that he could do the work quite well. The worker told Joe that he would inquire about classes conducted under the auspices of the WPA.

Sixth Interview

December 22, 1936

Joe came fifteen minutes late today, apologized for it, and stayed for an hour and a half. His opening sentence was that he was going crazy. When the worker asked him what he meant, he said that he was just about to lose his job in the fish store. The store is to be sold, and he does not know if the new owner will want to keep him or not. Joe was very vague in speaking about the affairs of this store. At one time he said that he had not seen the new owner, and at another time stated that the new owner had informed him that he might have the job for ten dollars a week. There is another boy working in the store, who will probably be willing to take the job for ten dollars, Joe said. Joe himself wants at least fifteen dollars a week for full-time work and would refuse to accept ten dollars a week even temporarily. At present he works in this store all day Thursday, and Friday morning. He is paid one dollar for Thursday but makes between two and a half and three dollars in tips Thursday and Friday. He gets the tips for cleaning fish for customers. Joe thinks that he is a much better worker than the other fellow. He said that he really knows the business, whereas this other fellow is a very dull chap, who quit school very early, and can't remember even the simplest things about the duties in the store. When the worker suggested that Joe might be able to find a job in another fish store, Joe said that his mother does not want him to go into the fish business, and that he doesn't like it either.

Then Joe showed the worker a wrist watch which he was wearing. He said that his father had given it to him a few days ago. His father picks up second-hand watches, gives them to a jeweler to be repaired and cleaned, and then sells them to people as new watches, he said. He then slipped the watch off his wrist, took it apart, and examined the mechanism. When the worker suggested that this might spoil the watch, Joe said that he didn't

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care if it did, he was getting tired of this watch and thought he would get another one. Just exactly where his father obtained the watches was not made clear, and Joe was not questioned about it.

Then Joe began to talk about his club, which has disbanded, and about a club in the suburbs which he has been invited to join. He said that he attended their party last Saturday and had a very good time, staying up all night long. He gave a very long account of the activities of the young people at the party, but nothing of particular interest was disclosed. Then Joe said that he had met a very attractive girl there, one whom he "would certainly like to have." He didn't spend much time with her because he thought that she was a girl friend of one of the fellows. Later he found out from the boys that this girl lived upstairs in the building where they have their club-room, and that she was a prostitute. According to the boys, this girl is seventeen years old, has run away from home, and earns her living by prostitution. Joe spoke about her at great length and said that he was going to "try and make this girl," but that he certainly was not going to pay her two dollars. This, he said, was exactly what he had been looking for ever since he left school, a girl who had free time during the day. He talked at length about different girls he had known, and described several of his affairs with them in great detail. This account went on for some thirty or forty minutes. Then he said that he knows a young girl whom he would "like to make, but she is a virgin and doesn't want to sleep with a fellow." He frequently jokes with her about it, but she is adamant. Joe said that he would have to buy her a present, in an attempt to impress her. Again he remarked that he probably would have no job and no money, and that he was going to go crazy. "All this playing around with girls is terrible. It's like a disease—the more you have it, the more you want it." The worker suggested that if Joe had a steady job or was attending school, he would not be as restless as he is at present. Joe agreed very heartily.

Then Joe began to speak of studying hairdressing and said that he would like to know if there were such WPA classes. He was told that the worker had written a letter to the Adult Education Division of WPA, inquiring about the classes. Joe said that per-

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haps he would go there today and find out for himself. Then he said he didn't think he'd have time today, and that he would first like to find out whether he was going to have a job or not. Next he remembered that his aunt was taking a course in accounting in a WPA class, and said that instead of going there himself, he had better ask her to find out all about it for him.

The worker told Joe that he would be unable to see him next week, but would do so two weeks from today. Joe was markedly disappointed.

Seventh Interview

January 20, 1937

Joe dropped in unexpectedly today. He had an appointment for yesterday but did not appear then. The worker happened to have some free time today and was able to have a talk with Joe.

When Joe was asked whether any changes had taken place in his situation, he replied, "A lot has happened and yet nothing in particular." He looked much more serious than usual and had an air of purpose or determination about him. He said that he had just come from the main office of the NYA, where he had made inquiries about classes in hairdressing. That office referred him to the Adult Education Division of the WPA, which he plans to visit after this interview. He told the worker that his mother didn't want him to take up hairdressing. When asked for her reason, he said, "I don't know why, but I don't care, I don't want to work at the same things my parents are working at. Just because they know something about the fish business doesn't mean that I have to follow it." He said, however, that his parents do not want him to go into the fish business. Then he remarked that he had wasted enough time, and that the sooner he learned the hairdressing business, the sooner he would be able to have a business of his own.

His parents have been having considerable trouble lately, and he is sure now that they will never really make up. "I tried to bring them together again and again, but there's no use." Joe's mother continues to live with her parents. Joe said that she is still quite sick. She has definitely decided not to work any more in the fish store, but would like to get some other job. Joe asked

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the worker if he could help him find something for his mother. He thinks that she could do selling in a store, or could do janitor's work, as she has in the past. His father has just quit his job; Joe was disgusted with him for doing so at this time. He said that his father had been getting fifty-five dollars a week but wanted a ten-dollar raise, and quit because he didn't get it. Joe thought that his father would never go to work for the WPA. In case his parents definitely separated, there would be no way of making his father contribute any money for the mother's support. Joe was sure that his father would always claim that he was not earning anything.

Joe mentioned casually today that he was not going to the club any more. There was not time to discuss this in detail. At present Joe lives with his mother. He says that his maternal grandfather is quite ill and is in the hospital at present. He is not expected to recover.

The interview had to be terminated because the next interviewee came in. Joe made another appointment for one week from today.

Eighth Interview

January 26, 1937

Joe arrived fifty minutes late today and did not stay at the office for a full hour. He said that he had gone to the Adult Education Division of the WPA to inquire about free courses in hairdressing. He had been informed that the WPA did not have any such classes and that he would have to go to a private school. He was given a list of several private schools in which the tuition fee for the course is one hundred and fifty dollars. He then told the worker that a friend of his, who also wants to study hairdressing, told him about some school where he could study permanent waving, fingerwaving, and hairdressing. The tuition fee is seventy dollars for a four-months' course, but Joe thinks that they will accept him if he pays five dollars down and three dollars every week. The worker promised Joe that he would inquire if there were any free courses in hairdressing in the city, and would let him know next week. Joe seems to be very determined at present to study hairdressing; he said that he was "getting sick and tired fooling around doing nothing."

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Then he reported that he was quite sure that his parents were not going to go back and live together again, and that he was also sure that his father was not going to contribute toward his mother's support. That is why he himself has to get ready at once to earn a living, he said. His mother and his younger brother and sister are still staying with the maternal grandmother. They are not particularly welcome there, and he and his mother are very impatient to get out. His maternal grandfather is still sick at the hospital and is in an oxygen tent at present. Joe is "pretty sure that my grandfather is going to kick off." He won't feel a bit sorry about it, he said, even though it is his grandfather. He described his grandfather as a grouchy and unpleasant old man. Joe also volunteered the information that he doesn't have much use for his grandmother either; she is being supported at present by Joe's mother's sister, who is very much annoyed because Joe and his mother stay at their house. This aunt makes things very unpleasant for them.

His mother, Joe said, is still very eager to get some sort of a job; he wished that the worker would help her with her problem. She is still pretty sick, according to Joe. Today he told the worker that at one time she had been in the hospital for weeks suffering with sciatica. He thinks that she could do some light work, but she has become so weak that she cannot lift anything heavy at all. Joe said that he was quite disgusted with the whole home situation at present, and that if it weren't for his mother he would just leave the city and go bumming around through the country in an attempt to find a job somewhere else. However, he feels that he has to stay with his mother and help her along. Her birthday is coming soon, and he is going to spend five dollars on a present for her. His father is not working at present, but "makes plenty of money by selling jewelry." When the worker asked him just what his father did for a living, Joe replied that that was a very long story and, once he started, it would take a whole year to tell about it.

NOTE: On February 8, Joe dropped in unexpectedly. He said that he was sorry he had been unable to come on February 2. He had to stay at home because his grandfather had died. An appointment was made with him for February 10th.

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Ninth Interview

February 10, 1937

Joe came forty-five minutes late and stayed at the office for only twenty minutes because the worker had another appointment.

The worker told Joe that he had inquired at the Adult Education Division of the WPA, and also at the Board of Education, regarding free courses in hairdressing. There is one free course in hairdressing, but it is open to women only, so that Joe is not eligible. There is a fair possibility that another course in hairdressing may be started, but no definite arrangements have yet been made for it. Joe was a bit discouraged and said that he didn't see how he could pay the tuition fee in a commercial school of hairdressing. The worker mentioned the Guidance Service and suggested that it might be worth while for Joe to go and see the director, in order to find out whether the Guidance Service could work out some plan whereby Joe could get the training he wishes. At first Joe was very sceptical about this, but later he became interested. He would prefer, however, that the worker go to the Guidance Service first and then write a letter of introduction for him. After that he will go himself. The worker said that he would visit the Guidance Service as soon as he had time.

Then Joe repeated that his grandfather had died. Since, for several days, Joe was the only man in the household, it was left to him to make all the necessary arrangements. Just before he left the office, he said that it was imperative for him to get a job or to start a definite course in preparation for some vocation. He said that he would have to make a decision as to which vocation very soon, but still prefers hairdressing to anything else. He did not go into details as to why he had to make a decision soon.

Tenth Interview

February 16, 1937

Joe came half an hour late this morning but was very cheerful and friendly. He asked the worker immediately if he had gone to see the director of the Guidance Service. The worker explained that he had not done so because he had not had the time. He suggested to Joe that he would be very glad to write an introductory note to the director, but Joe said that some other things

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had come up and he didn't know whether he wanted to go to the Guidance Service immediately or not.

The "other things" refer to the egg business which Joe has started recently. A friend gave him the idea. At present, Joe and his mother go out selling eggs from house to house. They borrow the car of Joe's aunt, load it with eggs, and then go calling on people whom they know or whose names they have obtained through friends. Joe said that he is trying to obtain a driver's license and hopes that he will be able to get it through some political "pull." He would like to have the license so that he could take the car out alone in the evenings. And, in the second place, he would like his mother "to stay home like other women" and not work at all. Third, he thinks he could drive the car much more quickly than his mother and could therefore cover more territory.

The way he does business is to inquire in the neighborhood about the price of eggs and then to sell his a cent or two cheaper. He doesn't like to go canvassing, and therefore goes only to people whom he knows or whom some of his customers have recommended to him. He enjoys the work quite a bit and "gets by by smiling and joking with the housewives." He thinks that "women are very funny." They always respond to a joke and a friendly manner. Men like such behavior too, but women like it so much better and respond to it much more satisfactorily. He knows how to talk to women. "You see, I have been with women a lot, well, with my mother ever since I was little, and I know how to talk to them." Joe was questioned about the price of his eggs and gave the worker a price list. The worker said that he would be glad to ask his friends if they would not like to buy eggs from Joe. Joe seemed to appreciate this very much and said that he could easily bring the eggs when he comes to this office.

Much of the interview today was spent in general chatting and laughing. Joe seemed to be having a very gay time. He hopes that he will be able to make a success of his business, but of course he doesn't know yet. He made an appointment for two weeks from today; he already has some orders to deliver eggs next week. Then he asked the worker to let him know if he found any people

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who wanted to buy eggs and said that in that case he would come to the office next week to deliver them.

With regard to a course in hairdressing, Joe said that he would like to find out first how his egg business will go. If it should be a success, then he sees no reason for starting a course in hairdressing, unless he can find such a course given at night. He explained that success in retail business of this type depends largely on the individual's willingness to hustle around and to spend a lot of time delivering the eggs and finding new customers. However, before he left, he expressed the hope that the worker would be able to find time to see the director of the Guidance Service.

Joe said today that his grandmother and her family may move soon, in the same neighborhood but to a different house. He said that it was quite definite now that his mother and father were not going back to live together. Joe and his mother and his siblings are to move to this new place with the grandmother. The new house is much larger and has a large basement where they will be able to store the eggs.

Eleventh Interview

March 2, 1937

Joe came a half hour early. He explained that he happened to be working in this neighborhood for the last few days on a temporary job and had dropped in there this morning to find out whether or not he was needed. He worked late hours on this job, and was paid only twenty-five cents an hour; yet he was able to make about twenty dollars. Then he repeated that he turns his whole NYA check over to his mother, but that he keeps for himself the money which he makes on extra jobs.

He was asked how the egg business was getting along. The worker also told him that he would like to order three dozen eggs.² Joe said that many of his customers have discontinued buying eggs from him, that he has not been very successful in getting new customers, and that, at the rate his business is going now, he is barely earning more than what the gasoline costs him. He said that he would try this egg business for a little while longer but is afraid that he will have to drop it.

² Joe never filled this order.

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After this he remarked that what he really wanted to do was to "get into some racket." A friend of his "has been in a racket" for a long time now and is making as much as sixty dollars a week. The worker asked whether Joe had a chance of getting together with this friend. He answered in the negative. The friend shares with his brother who goes to college, and doesn't want to split his income with anybody else.

The worker asked Joe if he had visited any of the young people's clubs lately. Joe said, with a smile, that he has been very virtuous lately, has been going out very little, and has spent most of his evenings at home. Recently he met some girl whom he liked, but he doesn't know whether this will develop into anything or whether he will just drop the whole affair.

He asked the worker whether he had found out anything about the possibility of studying hairdressing. The worker said that he had done nothing about it yet and suggested that Joe himself go to the Guidance Service. The purpose of the Guidance Service was explained to him, and he was also told that the counselors obtain jobs for their clients whenever they can. After some deliberation Joe decided that it would be worthwhile for him to go to the Guidance Service, and said that he would subject himself to all the tests which they gave and would also return regularly for subsequent appointments if that were suggested to him. Then the worker asked if he had visited any of the commercial agencies. Joe said that he doesn't believe in commercial employment agencies because they charge too much for their services. Asked if he would be interested in a job in some summer resort, Joe said that that would appeal to him very much. The worker suggested that it might be a good idea for Joe to apply at various commercial agencies very soon for such jobs, because they were more readily available in the spring. Joe hoped he would be able to be a bellhop at one of these resorts, because he thinks that he "could make plenty of good tips." He also mentioned again that he would like to have a chance to be a gigolo but doesn't quite know how to go about it.

Speaking of his parents today, Joe repeated what he had said before. He is quite certain that they will never again go back to live together and that he will have to support his mother.

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Then he told the worker that a few days ago, when he went to work on his NYA project, he appeared at three o'clock but signed for eleven o'clock in the morning. The director of the agency for which he works called him in and asked him to explain why he had done this. He told the director that he had been there all the time and that, at the moment when they were looking for him, he just happened to step out to talk to his mother. Joe said that the director did not believe him but that this was completely beside the point, because Joe became very angry at the way the director spoke to him. He talked back to the director "very straight" and finally told the director that he was going to be transferred to another project. Joe says that he has already contacted a supervisor in some community center and has obtained his permission to be transferred as a worker there.

When Joe was leaving, the matter of the next appointment came up. He made an appointment for next Tuesday and said that he would call up the secretary and tell her about it, if, for some reason, he should be unable to come. Then he told the worker that he liked the latter's secretary very much, that she was very sweet when she talked to him over the telephone, and that he thinks she is a very nice girl in general. He winked at the worker and said that perhaps he would ask the secretary out some time. The worker laughed and said that it was up to Joe to approach her, that he himself was not going to do anything about it.

Twelfth Interview

March 10, 1937

Joe dropped in unexpectedly this morning. The worker had a half hour free and so saw him. Joe started by saying that he had visited the Guidance Service. He was met by the director who spoke only a few words to him and then directed him to a girl who gave Joe an intelligence test. He thinks it was a test of his intelligence and of his general knowledge and alertness, because he was given a series of problems to solve, and the time he needed for the solution was recorded. He smiled and said that he took his time about answering the questions. He didn't "give a damn" about them, since he thought that an intelligence test had no bearing on his particular problem. He was a bit annoyed because he had had to see several people and was particularly displeased when

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he was told that the Guidance Service was merely a consultation office, and that, after the office determined the type of work for which he seemed best suited, he would be referred back to the worker for placement. Joe said that he knew the worker could not get him a position. He is going to go through with all the tests, but at the end he is going to tell the Guidance Service what he thinks of them, because it was his impression that they were to make an attempt to help him find work, too. He was to have gone a second time but did not appear at the Guidance Service at the proper hour, because he was riding with a friend of his in an automobile and they had a flat tire and he had to stay and help his friend fix it. However, he went to the Guidance Service the next day and was interviewed by someone who, according to Joe, took his whole life history. There was not anything in particular which they asked, just "the usual crap" about what his father's name was, his address, and so forth. Joe showed some annoyance when he told the worker that he had had to fill out several pages of questions about his past schooling and past employment. His employment record really looked pretty good when he was through with it, he said, and everything fitted together very nicely. He had a good explanation for having lost every job he had ever had, and he thinks that the Guidance Service will accept his statements at their face value. Smiling, he told the worker that he had found it necessary to change the facts slightly a few times. He asserted that he had been fired from a job only once, but in his application he gave some other reason for having lost it. He has a third appointment with the Guidance Service this afternoon. He intends to go there and go through with the whole procedure, complying with all their requests.

Joe repeated today that if he could not get a free course in hairdressing he would try to get a job during the summer at some camp or hotel, save his money, and take the hairdressing course in the fall.

After this, Joe told the worker that he had happened to drop in today because he was in the building seeing someone else: he had a little trouble over the fact that he had not put in full time on his project. "I suppose I am taking a chance on seeing you when I drop in like this because you may be busy." The worker

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said that this was true and that it was much better to make regular appointments. Joe said that he would try to come again next Friday but was not certain whether he would be able to or not. A friend of his who is working in a novelty store may quit his job, and Joe hopes to get it. This job requires driving and now Joe contemplates "doing a little forgery." He has a copy of his birth certificate from school, written in ink; he plans to change the year of his birth by using ink-remover. Of course, he "might mess up the birth certificate," in which case he will either go to school or to the Board of Health, obtain a new record from them, and then, in order to have the same ink which is used in the copy, he will take along an empty fountain pen and fill it with the ink which is used in that office. His greatest worry is that the Board of Health may issue only photostatic copies of birth certificates, and in that case he won't attempt to forge it. Then he thought that perhaps a friend of his, who does photography as a hobby, could help him in forging a photostatic document. "After all, even if this doesn't turn out, the judge won't do very much to me because I'm not of age."

Before he left, Joe asked the worker if he didn't know of some good racket. The worker laughed and said that he didn't know of a single safe racket. Very soon after this, Joe remarked that he might move back to his old house, and in that case the worker would have to send him four tickets again instead of two, because he would have to take the trolley as well as the subway. The worker told Joe to let him know if he moved.

NOTE: Following this last interview, another appointment was made with Joe. As usual, a letter reminding him of the appointment and tickets for carfare were mailed to him. He did not appear. Another appointment was then suggested by letter. Joe neither replied nor appeared.

2. A Follow-up Study After Three Years

The interview records with their disquieting picture of Joe's adjustment suggested that it might be of value to follow up his development in order to account more accurately for his recorded behavior and, if possible, to discover its relation to his past and future. Though the material may have seemed to give evidence of an unalterable delinquent tendency, pointing to a socially undesirable and destructive life career for Joe, there was yet a possibility that such a disturbance could be attributed to the vicissitudes of adolescent development and therefore could not be a reliable indication of the subsequent course of Joe's life. In order to shed light on this problem, a second worker, not the one who conducted the interviews, gathered additional material from a variety of sources: school, NYA supervisor, occasional employers, community agencies, and Joe himself. The material was brought up to the time when Joe was 20-3 years old, exactly three years after the last interview in March, 1937.

Joe entered kindergarten at the age of 5-9 and the first grade at 6-2. He attended sixteen terms until completion of the eighth grade with an average absence per term of 5 to 8 days in rather even distribution. His progression in school was normal; no time was lost by repeating grades. He was transferred five times to new schools before he entered high school. His "Conduct" was always good during elementary school, ranging from A to B in checkered sequence. His "Work" was reported as satisfactory (9 B's) to fair (4 C's) up to the sixth grade with occasional reference to his being "not proficient in arithmetic." After the transfer to a new school during grade six, when Joe was 11-9 years old, his grades in "Work" dropped constantly and without recovery; they included only C's and D's, these being the first D's he had received in his school career. In 7A Joe's work was reported as "not proficient in anything." However, while these changes were taking

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place, his conduct marks remained satisfactory. After completion of the eighth grade Joe entered high school at the age of 14-1. He remained there for only three terms, not receiving any grades for the third term on account of prolonged absences. During the first term he was absent three days, during the second term seventeen days, and during the third term fifty-three days. Joe became a serious truant during his third term, and transfer to a trade school was suggested. But he did not follow this advice and managed to keep out of school after he had been discharged from high school at the age of 15-5. The grades that Joe received during his short-lived high school career indicate clearly how his school status went rapidly downhill until he was ready to quit school at the first chance of a job. Term grades during high school were as follows:

	<i>First Term</i>	<i>Second Term</i>	<i>Third Term</i>
English	87	65	
History	65	—	
Physical Training	75	46	
Music	90	65	no
Bookkeeping	50	—	grades
Typewriting	70	40	given
El. Biology	65	40	
El. Drawing	65	65	
Passing grade: 65			

Although Joe's grades, as a measure of accomplishment, became less satisfactory at pre-adolescence, a disintegration in his scholastic work did not occur until the second term in high school. His absence record during this term totaled seventeen days, which were not accounted for as due to illness, and he finally became an incorrigible truant during the third term. His interests and accomplishments had already decreased during the second term. The records corroborate his remarks, made five years later, about his leaving school: ". . . well, I knew I would regret it that I didn't finish school, I knew it exactly—but I couldn't help it. There was nothing I was interested in except orchestra, and I wanted to work. When there was a chance for a job, I just left school."

During the critical year when the urge for economic inde-

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pendence drove him away from school the parents' marital discord reached an open conflict. The father became irresponsible and difficult to live with. The mother was conflicted about separation, fearing the loss of status and self-respect by exposing her family dissensions in court. After a considerable period of struggle and repeated disappointments she finally made a decision in favor of a separation. The years of struggle coincided with Joe's truancy, loss of interest, and final abandonment of school, followed by tramping and running away from home. Joe himself gives a calm account of this period by saying: "You know, my father and mother didn't get along very well; business went down and my father tried all sorts of things to make a living. He had an interest in three fish stores, but he lost it. They always talked about separation, but my father didn't want to leave because he wanted my mother to leave him. You know why; he didn't want to pay for the family. So he did everything he could to make life miserable for my mother until she finally left him." After the separation the family moved into another apartment, and the mother decided to commit the mentally defective daughter to a state institution. The period of family disintegration and reorganization covered about three years, beginning approximately with Joe's high-school career. Joe still thinks that he left school primarily to take over the family's economic responsibilities, which the father had attempted to evade. Joe tried to work at several occupations—selling, clerical work, odd jobs—but without success. His complete lack of vocational direction at that time has been clearly brought out in the interview records.

At the age of 16-10 he applied for NYA help and was accepted. At the age of 20-2 he resigned of his own accord, after having been skillfully prepared and guided for a more constructive future by his supervisor. During the time he was on NYA Joe held six jobs; "no bad average at all," according to the supervisor. The types of work which Joe did during the three years and four months were the following: basket room attendant in YMCA (five months); clerical work, which included filing, addressographing, etc. (six months); elevator operator (six months); receptionist in NYA office (seven months); gymnasium assistant in YMCA (six months); stock boy and messenger in hospital (ten months).

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Joe's initial adjustment to his assignment was very poor. Complaints repeatedly came to the office. He was found unreliable, always in conflict with his schedule, prone to organize gangs and to act independently. A gang that he formed while at his first assignment made work with him almost impossible. The boys stuck together and tried to run their jobs themselves, disregarding any interference by the man in charge. When Joe was transferred to another assignment, the same complaints reappeared: "irregular attendance," "ignoring schedule," "unreliable generally." Again transferred and, this time, seriously warned he improved slightly for an interval and then relapsed into his old habits. Questioned about his situation by his supervisor, he blamed his behavior on conditions at home; on account of them, he said, he had to "ignore all outside interests." At this time he mentioned his plan to leave town and seek employment elsewhere. As time went on he repeatedly left town but returned every few weeks with a type of story that made his supervisor believe that his trip was not for business but for pleasure only. There were always several boys involved in these trips, and all shared expenses for the car. Joe received a driver's license when he was eighteen years old.

Early in 1939 Joe definitely improved when he was assigned as stock and messenger boy to a hospital. No relapses occurred during the ten months he stayed at this assignment. Regarding his work habits no complaints were ever made. The report from his supervisor states: ". . . punctuality perfect, keeps schedule to the minute. One day when there was nothing to do he took one half hour out of his work time. Supervisor took one day's pay away for this. Joe excused himself later. He is perfect on errands, does not waste time, but comes right back." There are three other boys on the same job in the stock room; Joe is considered by far the best. His boss told the supervisor, "Don't you have a few fellows like Joe? I wouldn't know what to do without him."

Joe's vocational adjustment has passed through several phases. During the time of the interviews he expressed a strong desire to become a woman's hairdresser. He soon gave up this idea. He returned to the Vocational Guidance Service, where he received a series of occupational and aptitude tests. Of this experience Joe says, "Nothing has come out of it." In April, 1939 he entered a

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trade school for auto mechanics; there he made good progress and showed ability. His teachers considered him above average in intelligence. At the same time that his work habits improved, Joe became very much interested in a business which he pursued privately. He had bought a second-hand truck late in 1938, the purchase of which will be explained later. With this truck he collected empty egg boxes at groceries, eating places, and the like. These egg boxes he sold at a small profit to a wholesale broker. He also used his truck for incidental jobbing. All of this business netted him about thirty dollars a month. At the hospital where he worked Joe often got empty egg boxes free; this gave him the idea that he could make the rounds of other hospitals and collect more free boxes, telling the hospital officials that he was making the collection for the NYA. His supervisor, whom he acquainted with the plan, pointed out to him that this would be a criminal offense. Joe had not thought of that and said: "Gee, am I glad you told me. I didn't think of all that." The plan was dropped without any further comment.

When Joe finally resigned from NYA at the age of 20-2, he did it with the intention of devoting all his time to his own enterprise, which seemed to him substantial enough to provide a living. However, he has found out that he must struggle very hard to keep going without the NYA help. He usually gets up now in the morning at six o'clock and comes home at nine or ten at night, ready to go to sleep. His mother complains that he works too hard, but he says, "... you have to be on the spot if you're ever going to make money." He is so completely preoccupied with his business that he talks a great deal about it to the worker. He talks about the difficulties he encountered with his truck, about cost of repair and fuel, about paying back the loan he made when he bought the truck, about competition and price changes. His concerns reveal a realistic approach to life and a genuine desire to make good, to succeed on his own merits in order to gain status in the group to which he now belongs.

Joe broke away from the cellar club during 1938 when he was 18-7 years old. As he explains it, "The cellar club broke up naturally when boys met girls." He himself met his girl through a cousin of hers who used to visit the club. Since the disruption of

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the club, Joe has been exclusively attached to this girl. "All the social life for me is now my girl friend," he says. He carries several pictures of her with him and is very willing to show them. She is working in an office; they talk together about Joe's plans of expanding his business, and they think of their future. About the past Joe says, "There were times when I went with many girls but that's over." He gave his girl friend "an expensive wrist watch, the best there is" for her last birthday. He has been going with her now for almost two years. They want to marry in one year and a half. "I don't talk much about it to my mother," Joe continues, "but I have decided that I'm not going to live with the family after I'm married." Joe is accepted in the girl's family, and she as well as her father helped Joe to acquire the truck with which to build up his business; the girl gave the necessary cash from her savings, while her father signed a note for the remaining sum of the purchase. Joe is paying back the loan from the earnings in his business.

Significant for Joe's changed outlook on life are his new club interests. The cellar club phase has entirely died out, and he now would like to join a lodge like the Knights of Pythias or the Family Circle. Joe's intention to join these clubs has a definite meaning in terms of his social adjustment: his interest has been aroused for more mature social forms of recreation and responsibility; investments and benefits connected with such organizations presuppose an adult attitude toward life problems in general. Although he is attracted by such organizations, Joe is too much absorbed by his business to have any time left for recreation. The free time he has he spends with his girl or some fellows with whom he can discuss their common problem of how to make a living. He does not smoke nor drink; "sometimes I drink a glass of beer to be polite but I don't like it."

Joe lives with his mother and brother. He sees his father "once in a while." There is little emotion attached to such remarks. His relationship with his twelve-year-old brother is good, he feels. Joe assumes a paternal rôle toward him, providing him with advice, pocket money, and punishment. Since the father does not contribute regularly to the family budget, Joe feels responsible for paying the bills. He had always given all his NYA earnings to

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his mother and kept for himself what he made on the side. Joe talks about his family in a matter-of-fact way. He does not blame his father or mother for the separation and seems to have an understanding for both of them. Recently there has been a slight possibility that his father may return home. Joe would welcome his return, for "that would make everything easier." Despite the fact that his father has made life hard for the family during the last few years, Joe expresses a respect for him and for his potential ability to provide for the family. His father could "make good money in the fish business"; then Joe would not have to carry the present financial burden which hinders him from ever establishing a family of his own. This situation has become especially critical since the beginning of 1940 when his mother lost her WPA job; she has been seeking in vain for private employment. It seems as if Joe's acceptance in the family of his fiancée has made him less dependent on or involved in the marital difficulties of his own parents. He talks over his business with his prospective father-in-law, who apparently has taken a great liking to Joe and is eager to help him in his struggle for economic independence.

During the intervening years Joe has changed considerably in appearance and manners. He is described by the supervisor during 1939-40 as "very polite, courteous, a gentleman, has no speech mannerisms, does not play the tough guy as he did two and three years ago; his standards are high; he is slick, well dressed and groomed, always clean. His body build is heavy but he is not overfat." Joe is 5 feet 10 inches in height; he has grown one inch in three years and two months (from 16-10 to 20-0) and has gained fifteen pounds, having reached a weight of 188 pounds at the age of 20-0. His health has remained unimpaired during recent years; his only physical complaint is a pain in his back, which bothers him when he sits for a long time while driving or bends a great deal. "It is the same pain my mother has from her sciatica," he says; "it's in the family; doctors can't do anything about it."

Joe was very responsive when approached by the worker three years after the interview period; he appeared readily at an appointment. The personal contact with him bore out what had been gathered from various sources. Checking of facts found him reliable and honest. He talked easily and pleasantly, with no over-

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bearing attitude but with the desire to establish a contact with the other person. At the center of his concerns stood his business and the question of whether or not he would succeed. Although referring to problems of competition, he looked with much optimism at his own difficulties, convinced that one day he would have luck—if only he could survive. Reference to his past, particularly to the time of the interviews of 1936–37, could hardly be established; the epoch of cellar-club life, of leaving town, of delinquent episodes and fantasies seemed to have been forgotten, hidden behind an amnesic veil. During the conversations Joe preferred to stay with the present, dismissing the past with the casual remark: “There was a time when I was interested in our club and things like that—but that’s gone. If you want to get ahead, you’ve got to stick to your business.”

3. A Reconstruction of Joe's Adolescent Adjustment

The changes in Joe's behavior that emerge from a comparison of the interview material and the follow-up study make it desirable to examine his adolescent development in more detail. The temporary disintegration dramatically displayed after the second term of high school seemed to have been overcome four years later when the breakdown of emotional control slowly gave way to more mature and socially acceptable attitudes. Delinquent tendencies which had been uppermost at one time have later disappeared entirely. This change has been achieved without professional treatment or outside help, a fact which makes it especially desirable to search for the reasons underlying this change. The question arises whether Joe's behavior represents an adolescent disturbance only quantitatively different from the common minor upsets of this developmental period or whether such a personality picture as that disclosed by Joe at the age of sixteen is to be considered abnormal and ominous for his subsequent life career. Relevant to this question is the following statement discussing the personality disturbances of adolescents:

In a certain number the instabilities and other deviations go far beyond the bounds of what are ordinarily considered to be the normal upsets of adolescence. Some psychiatrists have spoken of the passing through this life period as a neurosis. I can hardly accept such a sweeping conclusion because so many young people seem to experience no disturbances. On the other hand we find that some individuals who during adolescent years demonstrated such extreme disorders that we diagnosed them as abnormally egocentric unstable personalities became stabilized in early adulthood so that they are no longer recognized as abnormal.³

The case of Joe is an example of adolescent development which includes this passing phase of apparently severe disturbance and

³ William Healy, *Personality in Formation and Action* (New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1938), p. 112.

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extreme disorder. In order to understand some of the causative elements in Joe's behavior, it will be necessary to reconstruct the total situation, of which Joe's asocial behavior and delinquent tendencies are but symptomatic expressions.⁴

THE PERIOD OF DISINTEGRATION

From the records it is evident that Joe's life became disturbed at the time of his early pubescence and at the time that his family broke up. Among the causative factors selected as the most important, those two seem to have been of the greatest consequence for Joe's adolescent development. To try to decide which of these factors was more important or which determined certain forms of his behavior would be a futile undertaking; no single factor analysis of his behavior could advance an understanding of Joe's development. It is essentially the coincidence in time of environmental and physiological changes which accounts for his disintegration at adolescence. Had the two main pressure situations occurred in a different time relationship, Joe's adjustment would have probably progressed more favorably. If the family turmoil had not threatened him at the time of rapid pubescent growth, he may have developed enough control to avoid the severe disturbances in the field of social, vocational, and heterosexual adjustment. Or had his maturation and growth been less rapid and advanced, the family disintegration would not have found him as heavily strained by his own development and would undoubtedly have affected him differently. The unfavorable coincidence of various pressures, then, must be considered as a total situation in reconstructing the causative factors which account for Joe's behavior.

While Joe was attending the first year of high school, he already had the physique of a person much older than his age-mates, a fact which cut him off from his own age group and threw him

⁴ "Delinquency is one small part of the total stream of the individual's life activities and in its significance represents, equally with other behavior, a response to inner or outer pressures. In common with all voluntary activities, it is one variety of self-expression." William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936), p. 3.

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in with fellows much older than himself. He was consequently forced to behave like the older boys and was driven into activities far beyond the emotional capacity of his age. The complaint which he makes at the beginning of the first interview—"My whole trouble is in my build. I am overdeveloped"—gives an indication of the paramount concern which his physical development represents, of the outstanding problem in which he seeks help. To point out further the conflictedness in this area, it is of interest to note his reaction to the worker's suggestion that he arrange for a basal metabolism test. Although he has just complained about his weight, which he overstated by twenty-seven pounds, and has talked freely about his size, he suddenly withdraws by saying: "Oh, there's nothing to it. I really don't worry about it. I never even think about it." The anxiety connected with his physical status is thus revealed. If he is gaining weight, Joe resorts to running away: "I've been gaining weight lately, and if I gain any more, I'll just have to go off somewheres, just like I did over a year ago, when I ran away from school . . ." The rapid development prevented Joe at times from coping with any of the demands enforced by home, school, or community and disorganized his self-control to the extent that he withdrew from the conflict situation entirely and sought relief in uncontrolled, self-indulgent, delinquent episodes. This illustrates how intimately growth processes are related to behavior manifestations, especially if the resulting tendencies are reinforced by emotional factors; these factors will be examined later.

During the critical time of Joe's rapid development the school had nothing to offer which interested or attracted him sufficiently to counteract his truancy and finally his drop-out. The desire to find a job, to earn money, and to gain independence grew partly out of his association with older boys and partly out of the new responsibilities he found thrust upon him in the family when the father threatened to leave and when his support became irregular. In the attempt to secure a job Joe soon found himself confronted with a serious handicap, for he looked so much older than his actual age that in applying for a job he was at a decided disadvantage: "They want me to drive a car, and I'm not seventeen yet. . . ." Misled by his appearance people made demands

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on him which overtaxed the capabilities of his age, his level of maturity, and his training; this finally contributed to his delinquent pursuits and delayed his vocational adjustment considerably.

Unable to finish school, unsuccessful in finding employment, Joe came to accept the club as the only place where he felt he had status. He had been active in founding it; yet he could not be honest with his fellow members about his age. He had to conceal it—he was the youngest—in order to belong to the group of older boys whose sexual interests he shared. The club affiliation probably prevented him from repeatedly running away. He liked the club as a “men’s place” and enjoyed being with other boys; on the other hand, the club served as a convenient place for heterosexual experimentation.

In his relationship to girls Joe showed a complete separation of the affectional and the sexual components in his feeling life, a preference for the prostitute rather than for the girl who, like Ruth, showed feminine attachment. Any consideration for the other person was totally lacking in his relations, a fact which in itself is an indication of his immature attitude and his failure to withdraw affection from previous love objects in the family in order to bestow it on other women. While he placed his mother on a pedestal, while he wanted to support her so that she could stay home “like other women,” he was cynical, brutal, inconsiderate to girls with whom he had overt sex relations. The tendency to depreciate women who are objects of sexual satisfaction and to contrast them to chaste and pure women as represented by the mother is a frequent adolescent dualistic conception of the other sex and a forerunner of the fusion of merely sexual desires with affectional feelings, inducing more mature attitudes in general.⁵

Joe’s family must be considered at this point because it was the source of the most potent conflicts which he encountered. The

⁵ In order to evaluate overt sex behavior it is necessary to consider how much it is in keeping with or how much it deviates from the behavior of the group to which the individual belongs. It should be recalled that “working-class youth are likely to move suddenly from relative indifference to girls to overt sex relationships with little or no intermediate stage of petting.” Homer P. Rainey, *How Fare American Youth?* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937), p. 140.

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parent's prolonged battle about separation produced an unstable situation in the family, with Joe being the only member to take over the father's place as breadwinner. Again Joe's apparent maturity was forcing him into a rôle that emotionally he was not able to fill. Behind his outward security and bravado there was a person fundamentally dependent and childish in his reactive tendencies: he always wanted others to do for him what he was supposed to do for himself; he thought that other people "could try to find a job for me"; he asked the worker innumerable times to secure a job for him, to go with him to employers "so that you'd do the talking for me," to inquire about courses, and to help him and his mother; generally he wanted others to protect him and to take care of his affairs. This need for protection and help, for guidance and support, this lack of masculine initiative indicates his conflicted attitude toward growing up and toward assuming new responsibilities. It reveals his essential immaturity. Only through wayward conduct, such as truancy and tramping, or through overt sex relationships could he convince himself that he possessed the self-determination, independence, and mature masculinity which he so markedly lacked. It is little wonder that the breaking up of the family intensified the adolescent conflict, a conflict which so frequently ensues at this time when parent-child relationships must undergo emotional reorganization.

Quite naturally the prospect of replacing the father in the family also disrupted Joe's vocational orientation completely. He said that he was "very anxious to get some work. This is the main reason, well, fifty per cent of the reason, why I quit school. Of course, I couldn't always live with my mother and support her. I may want to get married myself." At another time during the same interview he asserted that marrying someone would be the last thing he would ever do, "because that's when your troubles begin." Joe himself was not very outspoken in taking sides in the parental conflict; but his desire to be taken care of by others, to be provided for without effort indicates a strong dependency on his mother. It is likely that during the years of conflict she turned much of her affection to her older son; the prospect of becoming economically dependent on him may also have affected her attitude toward him. Whatever the situation in the

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family may have been, prevailing infantile tendencies impeded Joe's progress toward independence and curbed the normal effort to reorganize his emotional life in terms of new goals; they led him in the direction of getting everything the "easy way." He would have liked to be a gigolo, a bell-hop, a woman's hairdresser. He felt at ease and secure with women, more so than with men; "you see," he said, "I have been with women a lot, well, with my mother ever since I was little, and I know how to talk to them." This feeling helped to make him effective in selling eggs to housewives.

The very dependency on the mother and the infantile attitude toward life in general made it impossible for Joe to renounce or postpone any gratification. Under the impact of new instinctual demands the inhibitory forces of his conscience, adequate at an earlier age, became too weak to exert any restraining influence and were easily swept aside. Because of his total lack of mature values and goals, Joe was left free to pursue indiscriminately his personal egocentric strivings. He did not hesitate to tell the worker of his delinquent intentions: he would get a driver's license in another state, by political pull or by forgery of his birth certificate; he would misrepresent facts on the questionnaire for the Guidance Service in order to appear in a more favorable light; he would cheat on NYA time; he would join his friend in Reno who "made several thousand dollars on some deal and could have all the women he wanted out there."

In all his relationships Joe's weakness and passivity were outstanding. He looked to others for support, and he abandoned any relationship at the moment that it threatened him with disappointment or with demands: he discarded Ruth and the worker, who failed to give him what he wanted, as well as the NYA supervisor, who proved to be too demanding. Joe's fundamental insecurity and helplessness made him expect in everybody a potential ally to protect him against his general anxiety. With this approach to people he tried to use the worker as an instrument to solve his acute problems for him, he used girls indiscriminately to bolster up his self-assurance, and he urged one of his friends to become a physician so that he could have a doctor in case of venereal infection, a possibility which frequently worried him.

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The mother's attitude toward Joe's wayward behavior was rather lenient; she never complained about his conduct to any agency; "she lets me do whatever I want to." The mother's leniency together with the disintegration of the family kept Joe from attaining emotional maturity. The discrepancy between his physical and his emotional status as well as the perseverance of childish reactive patterns gave Joe's behavior the stamp of immaturity. It was a type of behavior which necessarily put him in conflict with the regulations and standards of society.

Holding a job or planning for a vocation was also laden with conflict, for here Joe was replacing his father in the family. It was partly because of this conflict that his vocational orientation became so devastatingly confused; he was unable to follow any one interest for a prolonged period of time. He took up wood-carving, helped in the fish store, wanted to become a truck driver or a professional baseball player; traveling appealed to him, and he would have liked to follow the career of his Reno friend; he thought it would be interesting to work as a bell-hop in a hotel, where you "get wise to a lot of things" or to become a gigolo; then suddenly he turned his interest to woman's hairdressing but dropped it temporarily in order to sell eggs; he hoped to get a job as clerk in a novelty store; and finally he would have liked to "get into some racket."

In this array of vocational appetites, showing Joe's complete lack of direction, the family again seemed to be of profound influence. The father gambling away money and afterward staying away from home for two weeks, irresponsible and weak ("He just can't keep a promise"), could not have served as a desirable example for identification while Joe was passing through adolescence. The father's own conduct and his vocational disintegration made their imprint on the boy's ego-ideal, keeping it weak and undifferentiated. The father had lost his interest in a fish business through gambling and now he "makes plenty of money by selling jewelry"; it would take a year, Joe said, to explain what his father really was doing. The poor paternal example is probably an additional reason why Joe followed every whim in seeking a vocation, envied everybody who got returns without effort, and could

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not identify with any vocation which implied renunciation and control. The lack of a firm ego-ideal with its inhibitory and regulative influence made Joe indecisive, petulant, and self-indulgent; it aggravated for several years the difficulty with which his rapid pubescent growth had already confronted him.

Unable to look for employment or to enter upon a period of training, Joe spent most of his time at home or in the club: he either continued the rôle of the child or he tried to assert himself outside the home through gang companionship or sexual gratification. At home, so he complained, he slept until late and ate too much; this made him gain weight, whereupon he had to run away. Most of his time was spent at home doing nothing. "That's probably what makes me so fat." Asked by the worker what he had done during the past two weeks, Joe replied, "Oh, nothing. I just stay at home and do nothing and I'm ready to go crazy." Joe, unable to integrate the various demands made on him, could only reiterate stubbornly like a child insisting that someone ease his troubles, that someone give him a job, a good job, an easy job. He was helpless, weak, and said in despair, "I don't know what I could do. I really don't know anything"; and at another time he declared, "What can I tell them [employers] that I know how to do, or want to do—be a gigolo? No, the only way you can get a job is through pull." The home situation was made responsible by Joe himself for his undesirable attitude on the NYA job.

After the separation of the parents Joe visited his mother daily at his grandmother's home and finally moved there himself. His mother was sick, and Joe felt very much dejected about the family situation. He said that if it were not for his mother he would have just left the city to go bumming through the country, but he felt that he had to stay with his mother and help her along. For her birthday he intended to spend five dollars. Obviously the mother was the only person to whom Joe was considerate, unselfish, and responsible. He behaved in this way to no one else. This bears out a point made previously: Joe's dependency on the mother was very intense; this relationship combined with the father's desertion and weakness makes it possible to understand why Joe was unable to accept mature social standards and to

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identify with mature goals.⁶ Joe asserted himself in terms of the three-fold goal of adolescence through immediate satisfactions, avoiding the emotional reorganization and differentiation which is needed to modify and socialize the new instinctual life: in order to emancipate himself from the family he ran away; in order to achieve heterosexual adjustment he had indiscriminate sex relations; and in order to establish his economic-vocational independence he intended to be supported by women or to make plenty of money in a racket.

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

Considering the shift in Joe's behavior which occurred during the five years following his first truancy, it would be dangerous to attribute such a change to any single factor in his life. No doubt the waning of pubescence, which had begun its course at a relatively early age in Joe, brought with it a decrease in the pressing demands made by his body upon his adjustive capacities. As Joe grew older his body build became less deviate from his age group, and it no longer became necessary for him to conceal his age in order to be admitted to a group in which he could feel adequate in physical status. He now learned to manage his body, which had become better coördinated and less baffling with its new powers. These shifts enabled the inhibitory and controlling forces in him to assume something of their previous rôle, and this self-regulation tended to alter his attitude toward life, which had previously been characterized by two irreconcilable desires: to continue a childhood status of protection and support, and simultaneously to find wish-fulfillment in adult forms of gratification. With awakening control he found that girls who had obsessed

⁶ It is an interesting psychological parallel to compare Joe's adolescent behavior with that of the gangsters depicted in the movies. While the gangster hero lives the most egocentric life, is brutal and abusive of women, he has an entirely different relationship to his mother, who usually lives a protected life of pure womanhood; she is treated by her gangster son with the most scrupulous devotion and tenderness. To be sure, the exaggeration depicted on the screen reflects a psychological constellation which lies at the bottom of many a criminal offender in reality. For further parallels with Joe's adolescent personality picture, see Franz Alexander and William Healy, *Roots of Crime* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1935).

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him "like a disease" lost their compelling temptation, and he finally became able to concentrate his affection on one girl. It was for the first time that he entered into a heterosexual relationship of this type, a relationship endowed with personal consideration instead of cynicism, with respect for the other sex instead of depreciation, and with postponement of gratification instead of immediate satisfaction. In brief his fiancée became his first mature love object. At this time Joe withdrew from sexual experimentation as suddenly as he had rushed into it and proceeded to the more delicate task of reconciling the sexual and affectional components of his feeling life, which up to now had been completely separated. This progression in heterosexual adjustment is to be regarded as having taken place rather gradually; it indicates that Joe's dependency on his mother, intensified during the time of family disintegration, has been greatly diminished. Joe's looking forward to marriage as well as his decision not to remain with his family after the marriage give ample testimony of his emotional growth.

It must be considered very fortunate that Joe was welcomed in the family of his girl friend. Here he now finds a home with a satisfactory parental relationship. His prospective father-in-law has helped him to build up his business, and Joe turns to him as a stabilizing and understanding friend and as a father substitute. From this relationship Joe's ego-ideal has received a firmer outline and a new strength, which it had hitherto lacked. A greater stability and serenity can be noticed in his behavior. The easy way of getting things has passed, and Joe now enjoys the struggle for success: a more masculine approach to life problems has replaced the passive attitude of being taken care of by others, preferably by women. His changed outlook on life also reflects itself characteristically in his plans for future club affiliations. He has slowly learned "that the amount of pleasure obtained from social conformity is greater than the sum of small pleasures derived from dissocial acts even when the accompanying discomfort of conformity is taken into account."⁷

With life interests of his own Joe is no longer troubled as

⁷ August Aichhorn, *Wayward Youth* (New York, The Viking Press, 1936), p. 205.

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much with his family affairs as he had been; he would now welcome a reconciliation of his parents. The habits of over-eating, over-sleeping, and over-smoking have disappeared, and a strong interest in his business and his future dominate Joe at the present time. In terms of the three-fold goal of adolescence it can be said that Joe at the age of twenty shows a rather mature relationship to the other sex; his emancipation from the family allows him to deal with his parents' conflict in a more detached and objective way. Vocationally these adjustments were of profound consequence, for Joe's vocational orientation became stabilized and his work habits improved. He developed traits indicating self-control: punctuality, reliability, and orderliness. Finally, Joe withdrew from the NYA of his own accord, and in renouncing the help of this agency he made the decision to stand on his own feet and to direct all of his effort into the business venture which he had developed on his own initiative. Delinquent tendencies have not recurred during the last year, and in the follow-up interview no delinquent fantasies were expressed. A realistic and socially conforming approach to life has won out.

The case of Joe, then, represents an adolescent adjustment showing severe disorders over a prolonged period of time. The unfortunate coincidence of many factors was partially responsible for the particular behavior manifestations. With the decrease of pressures in the total situation a slow integration of the personality apparently took place, making it possible for Joe to dispense with forms of protective and experimental behavior and to replace these with the more stable forms represented in mature attitudes. Joe's behavior, with its delinquent tendencies during adolescence, can be looked upon as part of the total process through which he had to pass in order to achieve an emotional reorganization. His overt behavior, as a matter of fact, does not appear as deviate as a first impression might indicate if it is viewed in the light of his urban, underprivileged social background; similar behavior manifestations would be seriously deviate and offensive in other social strata. If Joe's adolescent behavior is evaluated in terms of a total situation, in its personal as well as its social context, it loses its isolated character of "maladjustment" or "offense"; seen in historical perspective, it reveals its purposive

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character with its forms of expression borrowed from the immediate environment.

Although it is likely that Joe will be able to advance in his life career without returning to delinquent episodes, it is not to be expected that the disturbances and conflicts which dominated the scene at adolescence have totally disappeared. They have been and undoubtedly will be influential in shaping the individual peculiarities of Joe's personality, but there is no immediate reason to believe that they will again disturb the socialization which he has achieved. Under the impact of severely frustrating life circumstances in the future, he may possibly return to forms of behavior similar to those which he exhibited at adolescence. However, his smooth and satisfactory early school career makes it likely that Joe's adolescent disintegration was an acute and temporary phase, a result of the coincidence of extremely unfavorable circumstances.

THE INTERVIEW SITUATION: A CLUE TO JOE'S PERSONALITY

The study of an interview situation, based upon the case of Mary, brought out some implications of general import. Fundamental personality trends characteristic of Mary became evidenced by her behavior in the interviews. The varied reactions to the worker threw light on her basic conflicts and on the particular methods which she employed in order to meet her emotional problems. These insights derived from her behavior in the interviews augmented the insight based on content and thereby advanced the understanding of her personality structure. In order to extend the exploration of behavior as indicative of emotional development, the interviews of Joe will be subjected to the same kind of study.

The interview situation provides an excellent setting in which to study the dynamics of interpersonal relations, for the variables are relatively limited, involving the interplay of reactions of only two persons. The classroom represents a group situation of much greater complexity, but it contains essential features found in the more simple setting of the interview. The teacher, whether he deals with students in class or in individual conferences, is always

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confronted with interpersonal problems, which can be clarified by an understanding of what takes place in a person-to-person situation. In their interviews Joe as well as Mary illustrate such a situation, revealing their personalities through the relationships which they establish to the worker and through the reactions they display. Considering the great influence of the teacher's actions and reactions upon the development of his students, a discussion of the worker's response and his relationship to Joe will also have reference to some educationally important facets of interpersonal behavior.

The worker who interviewed Joe is the same person who interviewed Mary. Reference to his personality has already been made. Although the interview technique was much the same in both cases, the worker's reactions to Joe were quite different from what they had been to Mary, a circumstance which deserves attention if the whole interview situation is to be understood.

Joe's behavior at the opening of the first interview is striking. He is very friendly, carries a broad smile on his face, shakes hands vigorously, and is "chummy" with the worker from the very first moment. Jokingly he refers to his police record before the worker has a chance to explain the purpose of their meeting. The impression that Joe is anxious to create right from the start is that of an unselfconscious, self-assured boy. The show-off attitude has the character of protective bravado; it fades intermittently, giving way now and then to his demands for help. By trying out the worker with a casual reference to his police record, he guards himself against being questioned. He interrupts the worker frequently, he talks very rapidly and jumps from one topic to another, and he is nervous and fidgety, while trying to appear composed and at ease. Most NYA individuals who were interviewed seemed rather relieved when the worker volunteered to keep up the conversation during the first interview; they rarely focused the conversation directly on their gravest private concerns at the first encounter. Joe, however, starts the interview by throwing his problem at the worker: "My whole trouble is in my build. I am overdeveloped." Such a rapid disclosure of an acute personal problem is an indication of Joe's concern about himself and his general inadequacy. The worker does not offer advice but rather shares sympathetically

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in the boy's trouble; his reaction, in being interested but unimpressed by Joe's behavior, made it possible for Joe to dispense with his protective front of bravado.

Joe's reaction to the worker's noncommittal attitude may produce the impression that he had established a positive relationship, especially if his readiness to give away confidential material is taken at its face value. Upon more careful consideration it can be seen that he is simply playing the rôle he is accustomed to play with others. He is so completely absorbed by his own life problems, which no doubt frighten him at this time, that his first reaction upon meeting the worker is to make him serve the purpose of overcoming his own incapacity and weakness, of giving him love and support without asking for anything in return. This reaction is but a part of his general immaturity, as exhibited in the first interview. It is therefore not surprising to see that Joe's confidences to the worker do not commit him to any personal attachment; his cordiality is an exaggerated gesture, purely selfish in its motivation. He provokes the worker to reveal himself in order to be more secure in his own position toward him. For this very reason he refers to his illegal earnings ("The NYA isn't supposed to know about it") after the worker has asked him to return for further interviews. Again, the worker does not admonish him but tells about his own "bumming around." This sharing of common experiences was a way of speaking Joe's language, of telling him: I am not a respectable official; I do the same things you do; I am like you and therefore you can accept me. This Joe understood and quickly responded to. On this basis of likeness he could establish at least some degree of identification. Any admonition or mere show of sympathy he would have passed over, as he did later on.

From Joe's reaction to the worker during the first interview—his bravado and joviality, his self-centered attitude, his demands for help—two prevalent tendencies stand out in bold relief: Joe wants to appear grown up and secure; and he is an egocentric and helpless person, looking for somebody to take care of him. These themes are borne out in the content of the first interview, which shows a discrepancy between his physical and his social status: he tells the worker that he is overdeveloped, yet he complains that

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he is denied adult privileges, such as possessing a driver's license, and he makes frequent reference to wayward episodes.

The first interview, then, shows Joe as a boy over-compensating for his insecurity and anxiety by protective bravado and by seeking adult prestige and recognition through asocial behavior. This makes it likely that the formation of his ego-ideal has undergone a deterioration and has been replaced by the guiding principle of pursuing immediate satisfaction of his impulses. Because of this he establishes contact most easily on the basis of the other person's similarity to himself, on the other person's readiness to support his pleasure-seeking way of life, rather than on the basis of parental substitution with its implied restriction and control.

These fundamental trends represent the first clues to Joe's personality; additional interviews serve to verify the reactive tendencies indicated in the first interview. It is revealing to see how Joe, in the second interview, advances his purpose of enlisting the worker to his own ends. There is little doubt that Joe has now established a relationship to him. Joe lies and then confesses his deception; he furthermore abandons his protective behavior by admitting that in reality he is a very shy person. The worker, continuing the rôle he has begun, tells Joe that he is a shy person himself, that he is therefore like Joe. If this expression of identity is made sincerely by the worker, then Joe feels he can expect a substantial contribution from him toward the solution of his own difficulties. Consequently he asks the worker to get him a job and expresses the wish to use him personally by saying, "I ought to take you along so that you could do the talking for me" in looking for employment. As an affirmation of their allegiance and perhaps in response to a sudden feeling of good-fellowship, Joe "reached out toward the worker and patted him on the knee."

Unfortunately the worker's reaction to this sequence of behavior is not recorded. But Joe's subsequent behavior offers indirect evidence that after the familiarity displayed in the knee-patting incident the worker becomes progressively reluctant and reserved toward Joe. His emotional response is understood by Joe as a rejection.⁸ Unable to endure this attitude, Joe becomes defiant and

⁸ In order to illustrate the importance of the adult's feeling response in his relationship to adolescents, the worker has undertaken to make a careful

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all the more demanding ("I really need four carfare tickets . . . what the hell, the NYA can afford to spend its money on your carfare") and even provocative and threatening ("I'd try to keep the outside job and my NYA job"). Joe's remark that he would not let himself be dismissed by the NYA if he got an outside job but would keep both is a further indication that he is experiencing a rejection by the worker of the NYA study. Since he cannot bear denial or sublimate his wishes, Joe falls back on his customary bravado. On arriving at the third interview he therefore reverses the rôles by asking the first question with "Well, what's new?" However, he keeps on nagging the worker to find him a job and, later, to help his mother in getting one. Joe had been specifically informed before the interviews started that "no material benefit could be expected." He was the only subject of the group studied who used the worker directly and consistently for his own economic advantage.

The second interview, then, adds several significant insights to those gained from the first one. It shows the type of relationship which Joe is likely to establish; another person is simply a means

self-analysis after the lapse of a year and a half, this being a sufficiently long period of time in which to become emotionally detached from the interview situation. The self-analysis revealed that he became increasingly repelled by Joe's frivolous sex behavior and his "demanding," "chummy," "insincere," and "selfish" attitude. At the time of the interview the worker was not aware of his reaction, which he would have, of course, condemned on a rational basis. However, upon analysis of the interview data his unconscious rejection of Joe became apparent. It was primarily Joe's desire to be taken care of by women, to be accepted by others without return, to have other people do things for him as real evidence of their love—these were the tendencies which were charged for the worker with highly affective meanings. The display of infantile cravings by a physically mature man, who unscrupulously satisfied these cravings, evoked in the worker a negative response. Such tendencies and attitudes, then, became a source of recurrent anxieties for the worker. His own family constellation and life history contributed largely to this reaction. While the worker felt companionable with all subjects of the study, he tended to avoid any close companionship with Joe. The worker's "forgetfulness" and "lack of time" in inquiring about classes or about the Vocational Guidance Service as well as in fulfilling other promises, such as his promise to look up prophylactic literature for Joe, and in following up the numerous threads running through the interviews are evidence of his unwilling participation in the relationship, a reaction arising from his own emotional life and one which, unnoticed at the time, slipped past his conscious control and his professional vigilance.

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to Joe's private ends. It also illustrates his inability to accept frustration. He reacts by defiance, by bravado, by stubbornness and insistence.⁹ This expands what has already been pointed out: Joe's emotional development is out of step with his physical development. The incongruity of his emotional life is expressed by his demand for support and his uncontrolled striving for direct gratifications, whose denial or thwarting enrages him. He desires to have grown-up privileges without imposing restrictions upon himself.

The two initial interviews, examined primarily as evidence of Joe's reactive behavior, have indicated some of the basic trends in his personality. The subsequent interview material is sufficient to substantiate in detail those personality trends which have become apparent as governing tendencies in Joe's conduct. The total interview time, however, was too short to indicate any essential changes in Joe. But it is of interest to pay close attention to the factors which finally account for Joe's discontinuance of the interviews. In the first place, Joe's hope that the worker would help him, would get him a job and give him affection freely, is progressively dissipated. This naturally produces discouragement and brings forth a defeated and desperate attitude in Joe. As he has done before Joe begins to seek gratification through asocial channels, and the worker is entrusted with his confidences; Joe does this apparently not merely to unburden his conscience but to force the worker out of his passive and noncommittal reluctance into an active participation in his own struggle for inner security. The provocative character of the last two interviews illustrates this point with great clarity. Again Joe talks about his cheating on the NYA job and about "fixing" his employment records in order to make a better showing. To the last interview he arrives unexpectedly, and toward the end he even tries to make the worker an accessory in an attempt at forgery and asks him to recommend a good racket. Toward all of these tactics the worker must necessarily play the rôle of a frustrating person. Thereupon Joe drops him as abruptly as he had previously taken up the jovial and confidential relationship to him. His irresponsiveness to repeated appeals by the worker after the

⁹ Whenever the worker had to cancel an appointment, Joe dropped in "unexpectedly," as if he were not obliged to keep any appointment since the worker had taken the liberty of changing the original time.

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twelfth interview indicates that he has definitely discarded the worker as an instrument for securing help. Too deeply involved in parental, vocational, and social frustrations, he resorts to asocial behavior, delinquent fantasies, and sexual indulgence.

In view of the determinants of Joe's behavior and the developmental conflict which this behavior manifests, the short span of his adolescent career reflected in the interviews represents but one dramatic and unsuccessful phase of his struggle toward maturation and socialization. Such agencies as the school or the vocational guidance service, which might have been of help, unfortunately did not offer the assistance to guarantee a smoother adjustment. During the time, then, of Joe's adolescent disturbances the NYA represented an educational experience of great value and as stabilizing an influence as he could bear at this period. Considering Joe's immaturity it is to be doubted whether he would have been successful in holding a private job; he would most probably have experienced a series of repeated defeats with their devastating consequences.

5

Education and Adolescent Development

If education is conceived as an instrument to foster the normal development of the whole child, it must concern itself with the developmental characteristics and the individual variations inherent in any phase of growth. Oriented toward this aim, educational theory and practice will be in a position to relate the needs of a developmental age to the realities, traditions, and urgencies of the world of today. It can also give the student the contact with things and ideas and people which will help him to live more effectively as an eventually mature person in a social setting.

The characteristics of the adolescent period in general and of individual adolescents in particular have been explored in the foregoing pages, and it has been pointed out that the phase of adolescent development has a task to fulfill, a manifold task involving the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual aspects of the personality. The pursuit of this task gives rise to certain recognized needs, which must be met if the adolescent person is to move forward successfully toward maturity; and it is in the power of education to provide the experiences which can satisfy these needs and, at the same time, modify them in terms of social and cultural values.¹

It has become clear from the case material that any type of

¹ The present section will confine itself to a discussion of some of the conclusions, applicable to education, drawn from the study of individual adolescents. Other publications of the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum (see references at the end of Part Five) have dealt with general problems or with special aspects of education, such as curriculum content, school administration, the rôle of the school, etc.

For general orientation, see V. T. Thayer, Caroline B. Zachry, and Ruth Kotinsky, *Reorganizing Secondary Education* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939).

For a definition and fuller discussion of the need concept as underlying educational planning, see *ibid.*, especially pp. 39-50; see also Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, *Science in General Education* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938), pp. 24-32 and Lois Hayden Meek, and others, *The Personal-Social Development of Boys and Girls with Implications for Secondary Education* (New York, Progressive Education Association, 1940).

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behavior can be considered as a response to a total situation, a response which is consistent with the individual's general behavior pattern. While this is often not apparent at first glance, interpretation makes it possible to reinstate isolated behavior items into an individual's unique life stream, where these items take their proper place in a continuity of events. In view of the continuity and patterning of behavior, we have come to recognize that the individual never reacts to an isolated situation, to the learning of history or biology, for example, but is affected by his total life situation in pursuing a specific task. His attitude toward maturation may influence his interest in biology, a motivation illustrated by Paul. The preoccupation with appearance and looks may result in intensified participation in "gym," as Betty has shown; furthermore, in her particular case the ambivalent attitude toward growing up as a woman and toward heterosexual adjustment in general resulted also in a fluctuating efficiency and coöperation in physical education. Any evaluation of behavior, then, must take into account that the school is but one segment of the adolescent's experience; an attempt to determine behavior in terms of a single factor, a segment of experience, inevitably omits many causative elements and obscures the full understanding of the individual. The past and present experiences of the individual will profoundly influence his reaction to the learning situation, of whatever kind it may be. They determine his attitude to the subject matter itself—the meaning it will have for him, his ability to accept it, and the purpose it will serve in his total development. What any child learns in a given classroom situation is an individual matter which can be understood only in terms of the experience and attitudes he brings to it. No two children in the same classroom are having exactly the same experience, and the total learning situation for the group is continuously affected by each one of them.

Because the child reacts as a whole person rather than as a mechanical robot making independent and isolated responses, he must be viewed in his total situation in order to be understood in detail. The departmentalized approach to the child fails to recognize that an evaluation of individual growth cannot be based upon a mere summation of single acts. The study of case material has illustrated, however, that the total situation is indirectly revealed in

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isolated responses and, for practical purposes, can be inferred if interpretive techniques are competently employed. In making interpretations it is highly important—especially when dealing with the adolescent period—to correlate the various aspects of living and to see the person as a whole in the context of his total situation. If this is done, behavior assumes meaning and furnishes a sound basis for educational planning and action. It became most evident from the study of Joe how the coincidence of various pressure situations resulted in a serious breakdown of socialized behavior and attitudes and caused him to employ types of protective behavior which safeguarded him temporarily against overwhelming demands. Reactions similar to those of Joe, differing only in degree, are a commonplace among students during the adolescent period. An analysis of the school's potential contribution to the personality growth of its students and an evaluation of the effect of educational demands and practices upon students will lead to meeting such emergencies more adequately.

I. The School and the Adolescent

It is an indisputable fact, and a fairly visible one, that individuals differ considerably in pubescent growth. Emotional development is a concomitant process and it likewise varies; its spread in time, indeed, is even greater than mere physical differences would seem to indicate. As we have seen, adolescent behavior is the product of various influencing factors, among which the normative impact of cultural conformities tends to obscure the wide range of individual variation and forces the realization of individual uniqueness back into the inner life, into the "private world" of the growing person. However, the influence of physical development upon intellectual and social interest formation is worth considering in the light of the stereotyped opportunities which schools offer, on the whole, to a given age group. For educational purposes it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the child does not react solely with his intellect to mental operations but needs to reinforce them with personal meanings and urgencies which are related to them in order to make the fullest use of his learning for his total development. Consequently, it is of paramount importance to select curricular material among the various subjects which has relevance for adolescent needs² and, at the same time, to individualize instruction, to offer instead of uniform and rigid material a variety of choices and opportunities adapted to the various levels of maturity and aspiration. With these objectives curricular planning would not only deal effectively with the innate characteristics of the adolescent period but it would also promote a coöperative living situation that approximates a democratic concept of life; for experimentation with individual powers, with free expression within a framework of social awareness and obligation constitutes an essential preparatory experience for democratic citizenship.

² See the list of subject-matter reports, prepared for the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, at the end of this section.

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But not only in the field of learning must individual variation be considered; it is equally important in the social and vocational experiences of young people, in aspects of living too often remote from the school but hardly outside the domain of its responsibilities. The need for social and vocational orientation assumes such importance at adolescence that to disregard it constitutes a serious omission in dealing with adolescent life. The age discrepancy in pubescent development between boys and girls—especially at the junior-high-school level—provides another problem to which the school must adjust its practices. This discrepancy would not only imply that the rigid barriers between age groups should be lowered but also that the curricular offerings should be adapted to the differing developmental levels of boys and girls within the same grade.

In the course of exploring individual adolescents a fundamental characteristic of this developmental period has come to stand out in bold relief: the reactivation of early life conflicts accompanies the emotional reorganization which takes place during the adolescent years. The adjustment to a broadened world, to new realities, dependencies, and aspirations cannot proceed without calling forth reactive patterns laid down at an early age. Family relationships undergo the most far-reaching changes, and this very fact disqualifies parents in many cases from acting as effective mediators in appeasing the conflict of their adolescent child, whose ambivalent feeling toward them is now at its height. Not infrequently this feeling is transferred to relationships with other adults; indeed, any single aspect of life or the world at large can become imbued with the affects uppermost at the time. Here the educator faces a responsibility which requires an insight into adolescent behavior and an understanding of its motivation if he is to strengthen the growing person in his struggle for independence and maturity. In the adolescent's adjustment to a wider world the teacher often functions as the representative of the enlarged life space; and, because of his daily contact with the student, he readily becomes the recipient of affects that reflect the adolescent's attempt to withdraw from family dependencies and to widen the scope of his relationships. Since behavior at this time is unstable, inconsistent, and unpredictable, the educator is confronted with a shifting situation that is often extremely difficult to handle. But on closer investiga-

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tion he will find an underlying consistency behind the seemingly unrelated and meaningless reactions of the adolescent. With a grasp of the psychological consistency of motivating forces, the educator can deal more constructively with the student's behavior; for, during this period when emotional life is in a state of flux, the adolescent individual is a highly flexible personality, easily responsive to understanding educational effort.

The cases of Mary and Joe have made explicit the important rôle the educator is called upon to play in the life of young people. They have illustrated at length that the reactivation period of early conflicts during adolescence offers an opportunity for constructive influence. Extra-familial agencies—the school in particular—must perform the task of accepting and understanding the adolescent at the time he is leaving the home. The teacher's rôle at this critical time can hardly be overestimated. The need of the adolescent for relationships with adults is great; but he must be granted an altered status in order that he may grow beyond childhood dependencies and avoid dissipating his energies by chafing against the extended child rôle he is expected to play at school.

Not only does the person of the educator assume an important function for the adolescent, enabling him to act out his temporary but urgent feeling reactions in a substitute situation, but learning and interests themselves become vehicles of emotional import. The view that curricular content is an objective body of knowledge and skills and that the pupil's ability to learn is determined only by the level of his intellectual capacities has been challenged by many investigations.³ The cases of Betty and Paul have illustrated in detail that motivation is inseparable from effective learning and from sustained interest, that emotional investments are responsible for the frequent lack or indifference, for the rise or decline in learning power. They do not, of course, tell the whole story, for health factors and the velocity of growth are similarly influential; but the influence of emotional factors is sufficiently impressive to demand serious consideration. The child must find in the nature of the subject matter, in the mental processes involved, or in the personality of

³ Daniel A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educative Process* (Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1938); see especially "The Influence of Affective Factors upon Learning," pp. 159-180.

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the teacher some positive contribution to his emotional needs. Failing this he will be ineffective. He may also find the demands of a particular subject or teacher directly opposed to his needs, in which case he will develop a negative attitude which practically precludes learning.

The reactions of two girls to mathematics and physical science will illustrate the differing personal responses to subject matter. Elaine, age sixteen, said to the worker during an interview: "It's art for art's sake in my case when it comes to math." Elaine liked mathematics, preferring to spend time alone concentrating on mathematical operations, because, she said, "I find crazy ways of doing subtractions. I found a new way to find the difference between seven squared and eight squared. In science, everything's been discovered before but in math I can discover things that are new to me." Frances, age sixteen, when asked to describe her approach in writing a scientific paper, said: "I dislike the very limited reports that you have to make unless you do experiments of your own. . . . If I am writing about reflection and refraction I cannot give my personal opinion. I feel I cannot do any creative writing or thinking in an ordinary science report. The only exception was when we were studying the origin of the world and a friend and I collaborated on a paper about the various primitive legends. There was a great opportunity for choice and selection of materials. . . . If I had to write a paper now, I would try immediately to find the human connotations of the subject and direct all my reading toward that." While Elaine shies away from human relations, exercising her creative power in abstract symbols, Frances, on the contrary, is attracted only by the human implications in a given problem. Characteristically, each girl chooses an approach suited to her emotional needs, an approach that is clearly manifested in her social behavior as well.

At adolescence, when a heightened feeling response to any stimulus is likely to prevail, the investment of seemingly impersonal activities with emotional charge is a common occurrence. At times some one aspect of the reactivated emotional life assumes so pervasive an import that all experiences become automatically related to it. This condition, usually perceived as touchiness, as excessive, unreasonable, and erratic behavior, is a sign of an absorbing process

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taking place in the adolescent; temporary distortions of reality frequently accompany it.

During this period of progressive orientation in a broader life space, the school has a definite contribution to make. Besides understanding the adolescent in terms of the compelling force of inner urgencies, it can take an active rôle in representing reality and offer assistance to the adolescent whose self-controlling forces are at times in danger of being swept aside. But to urge that a thorough understanding of adolescent development should be part of the equipment of teachers is far from advocating that they should adopt a passive or indulgent attitude toward students. On the contrary, it is believed that normative demands and social conformities are imperative during the adolescent period. But they must be used by the teacher with a proper sense of timing and quantity in relation to a particular adolescent. Requirements that would have a destructive effect when applied to one student might well be the most constructive procedures to use with another student. Similarly, numerous demands made upon an adolescent during an especially trying period of his development may do severe damage to his progress; smaller quantities of normative pressure or their postponement to a later time, when better balance has been achieved, may give the student the necessary measure of supportive control with which to carry on his development.

In the light of the tasks to be accomplished at adolescence, education must acknowledge the adolescent as distinct from either the child or the adult and must realize that the most important contribution toward his growth lies in social experiences, community participation, vocational planning and exploration; in status-giving activities, privileges, and responsibilities; in thinking through the potentialities, needs, and aspirations which he possesses as a sexually mature person, as a family member, as a citizen, and as an individual with inner resources; in searching with him for values and standards acceptable by society yet distinctly his own. In these terms each aspect of the curriculum can be utilized to greatest advantage and the prolongation of youth relieved of some of its devastating consequences. Experiences of all kinds, then, are to be related to the young person's growth, to the adjustments which he is called upon to make during his adolescent years.

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Recognizing the adolescent's need for these experiences, educators must be aware of the constructive use of situations which, by virtue of their psychological relatedness to a student's conflicts or aspirations, can help him to clarify his place and to find his direction. Since teachers could not conceivably do the appropriate planning for each student, it is evident that only their encouragement of choices and their fostering of individual approaches to identical mediums can satisfactorily provide those experiences which are uniquely related to each student's development. The school, in fact, must intentionally plan situations which offer the adolescent opportunities for experimentation. This does not only refer to learning of academic subjects but equally to the personal, social, civic, and economic aspects of life; to all these aspects subject matter should be scrupulously oriented. At no point during adolescence should a static consolidation of the personality be expected, but its fluctuating and variable character should be accepted as indicating an experimental utilization of various experiences; such experimentation with new powers and aspirations is a prerequisite to any final successful stabilization. If the school takes account of the characteristics of adolescent development, it becomes a laboratory in which experimentation with life problems is a major pursuit. Undoubtedly each subject matter field has much to contribute to this end. In order to assist adolescents in fulfilling their developmental task, it is necessary for the educator to realize their inherent needs and to be equally aware of the social scene—immediate and distant—in which they must become firmly rooted for mature living.

2. The Teacher and the Adolescent

Any age group in which emotional stability is easily upset or greatly lacking—a condition most apt to occur in early childhood and adolescence—makes increased demands on the maturity of the person in charge. At times when affects are expressed in explosive fashion, when desires are displayed with undisguised urgency, when reason yields under the pressure of other forces, any adult dealing with the child will inevitably be challenged by such manifestations in terms of his own life history. The teacher is no exception. For in the life of every adult the phase of adolescence has left unresolved conflicts in its wake, and final emotional stabilization has been achieved by compromise and other devices. Adolescent fantasies, strivings, and actions are covered in adulthood by an amnesic veil and do not necessarily interfere with effective adult living. The teacher, however, confronted daily with young people is apt to respond to their behavior in terms of the particular struggle he has encountered in his own adolescence.⁴ This often accounts for the teacher's sensitivity to and selective awareness of adolescent problems in his group, for his unusual understanding of one student and his complete lack of understanding of another. He finds himself curiously in sympathy with certain students and unreasonably disturbed by others, challenged by certain types of behavior, or disproportionately irritated, distressed, or even threatened by other types. He reacts to an extent he seldom suspects in terms of his own human needs and his own personality problems. He tends to feel close to those pupils whose interests or problems parallel his own, whose attitude toward maturation and its hazards calls up the self-control which he, too, labored to achieve; similarly, he tends to be less interested or even to be unduly annoyed by others on equally personal grounds. The greater the psychic cost at which he had achieved emotional control during adoles-

⁴ This problem in relation to the parent has been described in Part Three, "The family," p. 239.

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cence, the readier he will respond in such a personal fashion to the adolescent behavior displayed by his students.

Of this the teacher may be totally unaware, recognizing only his likes and dislikes, easily rationalizing them as sound personality evaluations. He may find hostile adolescent behavior particularly hard to face;⁵ he may be repelled beyond reason by overdependent pupils, or he may be tempted to let them lean upon him too heavily; he may need the affection of his pupils too much, or be unable to accept it at all. So in many ways he may inject himself into what seems to be an objective situation. He, like his pupils, has an emotional response to the subject he teaches, to teaching itself. His choice of profession and his field of work are important to him because he has chosen them in answer to his own needs or under severe outside pressures. A student's failure or lack of interest in the classroom represent not only practical situations which the teacher must meet; they may involve a threat to his own security or pride, for they indirectly call into question compromises and solutions he has made in adjusting to his life problems.

Personal reactions of this sort cannot be entirely avoided; they are part and parcel of every human being. But the more consciously such aspects in a situation can be recognized, the less they tend to distort relations and to hamper critical judgment. The extent to which a teacher recognizes his own reactions as well as those of his pupils will be indicative of the objectivity which he has achieved in his professional dealing with children. He needs to understand not only his students' problems but his own as well and be aware of the fact that he too is at any instant operating in a total situation, a situation which among other things includes his own history and personality. It needs no further elaboration to point out that such self-awareness is an essential equipment of all who choose work with children as their primary task. This, indeed, makes the educator's work unique and distinct from most other vocations.⁶

⁵ "Aggression on the part of children can upset the balance of adults very easily. This indicates that it touches on adults' own emotional make-up and, we feel almost compelled to say, on that part of their personality which is least adjusted, least integrated, and least controllable." Peter Blos, "Aggression in Young Children," *Child Study*, Vol. XV, May, 1938, p. 228.

⁶ "Dealing with children and engaging in the business of education require

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In order to illustrate how the teacher's response to students is conditioned by his past relationships, two summaries of interviews with teachers will be given.⁷ While cases similar to these could be multiplied to show that no exceptional persons were reported, it is believed that the reader will be able to duplicate from his own experience the samples offered here.

Summary of interviews with Barbara Brown, 22 years old:

Miss Brown's contact with adolescents is restricted to camp experiences; she has been a counselor for several summers. Asked about some outstanding problems of adolescent girls which she can recall from her work, she refers without hesitation to Lucie, age 15. This girl had puzzled her a great deal and in fact had upset her considerably during last summer. Lucie was preoccupied with religious problems. Her parents were said to be atheists, interested in science; but her grandmother had sent her to this camp which has a decidedly religious at-

qualifications from the individual which go far beyond the common prerequisites of most occupations. It is not only the skill, not only the knowledge in a given field which counts but it is the teacher's personality which has the most decisive influence upon his usefulness and effectiveness in the education of children. . . . The growth of the children is best promoted by including in the school's responsibility the growth of the teacher, and considering seriously his needs as a professional worker as well as a person. . . . In order to preserve emotional balance it is essential for the individual to belong to a group where his individuality is wanted and respected, where social needs can be met satisfactorily. This belongingness to a group of professional character in the school can contribute much to a person's feeling of security. However, the acceptance must not only be expressed in terms of sociability; it is essential also that the individual receive recognition of his work and understanding of his endeavor. Such status needs, as they are usually called, require skill and awareness on the part of the administrator but will—if constructively dealt with—provide for the teacher the necessary assurance of usefulness and self-esteem which make for poise and objectivity. This, of course, can only be achieved in a mature form if the teacher is aware of the reality to which he relates his action and if he participates fully in the process of thinking through the unavoidable shifts of emphasis in education, whatever these shifts may be." Peter Blos, "No School Better Than Its Teachers," *Educational Method*, Vol. XX, October, 1940, pp. 3, 4-5.

⁷ The interviews with teachers, given here in synoptic form, were collected as part of the Study of Adolescents. Teachers interviewed had no connection with the Study, but were summer-school students of a teacher-training institution. They came from seven states and ranged in age from 21 to 45; all had had experience with adolescent boys and girls. The following question was put to each of them by the interviewer: "What do you consider on the basis of your experience an outstanding problem of adolescence?" The first response given was then viewed in the light of the subject's life history.

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titude. In Lucie's tent there were long discussions, of which Miss Brown learned by hearsay; she cannot remember what they were about. One day Lucie came to see Miss Brown when she was alone in her tent; she wanted to talk over her religious scruples and the conflict she encountered in the camp, for she found herself torn between her parents' atheistic teachings and the religious attitude of the camp people. Miss Brown felt very much disturbed when the girl expressed her concerns; she had difficulty in speaking to her, did not know what to say, and felt generally ill at ease. The reaction of emotional discomfort returns in the interview as she talks about the conversation with Lucie. She suddenly discontinues the story of Lucie and drifts into the history of her own up-bringing.

Miss Brown was raised in a religious family; questioned about it she says, "My religious education is a story in itself." Her father is a man stern and puritan in his standards. Miss Brown has great admiration for him; throughout all her childhood she had regarded him with awe and affection. College and university life brought her in contact with girls of a less rigid background, and she came to realize that she was more restrained and inhibited in social life than other girls of her age. During the years she has lived away from home she has progressively doubted the desirability of her background; now she sometimes considers it a decided handicap and a burden. Her own ambivalent attitude toward religion and her own loyalty conflict immobilized Miss Brown when Lucie came for advice. The similarity of Lucie's conflict situation with her own kept her from being unbiased and objective toward the girl's problem. She herself had not yet solved her own conflict in this area; therefore she could not be of any help to the adolescent girl whose counselor she was. Miss Brown's self-critical attitude and her awareness that she had failed in a truly educational test situation overburdened the incident with guilt and made it the most highly charged episode in her educational experience. Not knowing how her own life history influenced her professional efficiency, Miss Brown concluded from this episode that religious problems represent the foremost concerns of young people.

Summary of interviews with Jane Hill, 41 years old:

Miss Hill talks easily about her school experiences and soon refers to the guidance work she has done as a classroom teacher. Working in a junior high school she became acquainted with the many problems which beset the pre-adolescent child. Her remarks show good insight and understanding, though perhaps her great sympathy with students—"the poor little fellows," as she calls them—is inclined to be somewhat extreme and uncritical. Miss Hill does not refer to any case in particular. Asked if she could recall a situation in her school career when she felt ill at ease or upset she immediately replies, "Yes, when

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I was in teachers' college. One day when I was teaching in the demonstration school the professor of education walked in, sat in the last row, and started to read the newspaper." This behavior upset her to such an extent that the class and she herself "went to pieces."

Talking about her work in the junior high school, which she will resume next fall after devoting one year to the study of guidance, she says, "There is only one thing I am afraid of: the other teachers." Explaining herself she reveals that she has difficulties in getting along with her colleagues; they "stand in my way to the child"; through their lack of understanding they prevent her from doing "adequate work in guidance." She easily gets into conflict with them, and she does not know how to help the children and to get along "with those teachers" at the same time. It is so much easier for her to make herself understood to parents.

Miss Hill is one of four sisters; all of her sisters are married. Since her mother's death, Miss Hill has lived for the last fifteen years with her father. Her relationship with her sisters "has never been ideal." She has succeeded, however, in covering up this lack of rapport to a great extent, but she cannot avoid being aware of the fact that she is the only unmarried daughter in the family; there is a feeling of envy and self-pity for which she tries to overcompensate in her educational work. Her ability to identify with the "poor little fellow" who is harshly treated by life results in a remarkable insight into children's problems and her rapport with them seems to be excellent. On the basis of this superior insight she "fights" her colleagues who stand in her way; their existence, indeed, is the only reason for her inability to do her best in working with children. Away from school she thinks about and anticipates their aggressive reaction toward her advanced knowledge, and this anticipation is a source of anxiety. The sister rivalry is the driving force in her hostile attitude toward women co-workers. In spite of her good insight, interest, and understanding, the need for establishing her superiority among the staff damages her work considerably. Her need for an unvarying approval and attention, demonstrated in her teachers' college recollection, as well as her competitive strivings are anchored in her life history; and because of her actual superiority of insight she can rationalize her feelings effectively. It is little wonder that she is unable to establish mature human relationships in such a setting as the school which has become the substitute ground for enacting her unsolved personal problems.

The teacher's reaction to adolescent behavior, then, is dependent to a large degree on the maturity of his adjustment to authority, to independence, to his vocation, and to his emotional needs. If he is to utilize student behavior for the better understanding of

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student problems, he must necessarily evaluate his own reaction to it. Such an evaluation, of course, presents many difficulties; the subtle and complex problems that arise in interpersonal relationships of this type have been illustrated and discussed in detail in the interview situations of Mary and Joe. Though the individual classroom teacher cannot investigate the past experiences of each student, he can be attentive to and aware of his own life history, of his immediate life situation, and, as a result of this self-knowledge, of his assets and liabilities for dealing with youth.

It is neither possible nor necessary for the teacher to go into the details of each student's life history in order to guide his students competently. Histories like the ones presented in this volume are intended as materials for study, useful in advancing the basic understanding of personality development. Although the teacher must of necessity put his emphasis on the practical demands of the immediate situation, his teaching will be immeasurably enriched, both in its value to his pupils and in its satisfactions to himself, if he learns to view day-to-day classroom behavior in terms of the light it sheds upon the fundamental trends of his pupils' personalities and their developmental needs. If he is able to recognize the purposefulness of behavior and becomes accustomed to deal with behavior on the level of its deeper meanings rather than its surface aspects, much that might seem merely annoying or extraneous will become for him a significant part of his professional task.

Behavior, taken in its broadest sense, reveals more about the individual than he is able to verbalize upon questioning, a fact which has been substantiated by the case histories. However, in order to use adolescent behavior as an indicator of developmental processes operating in the individual, it is necessary to relate observations to a concept of adolescent development and to interpret them in terms of their individual as well as their developmental meaning. Teachers usually know infinitely more about their students than they are able to utilize. An interpretive approach to behavior, as demonstrated in the case discussions, is offered as a suggestive and valid method for utilizing observations of and information about adolescents. It will be of help in evaluating educational practices and in selecting the type of experience most useful for individual growth.

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However, it should not be overlooked that the progression of the adolescent toward maturity is sometimes too conflicted to be advanced without outside assistance. The guidance worker dealing with such personality problems should have a special kind of equipment which would make it possible for him and the classroom teacher to coöperate directly and to make mutual contributions to each other's work. It is fortunate that the need for adequately trained counselors is becoming more widely recognized and that schools increasingly provide such services. Undoubtedly the sympathetic and understanding attitude of the teacher will be helpful and his observations valuable for the guidance worker; they will enable the worker to obtain a more adequate picture of behavior in context, to evaluate it in terms of individual meaning, and, in turn, to assist the teacher himself in educational planning.

As has been pointed out earlier, the adjustment of the adolescent to a wider reality repeats essential features of his first adjustment to reality in infancy. This deeply rooted process produces types of reactive behavior, protective and experimental in character, which will eventually facilitate the individual's orientation in a broadened life-space. Such behavior is to be recognized by the educator as a desirable response of the personality in a time of transition, however similar it may be to forms of behavior which indicate negative or abortive attempts at maturation. To discriminate between the failures of adjustment during adolescence and the passing interludes of adolescent disintegration is often a difficult task, requiring a careful attention to many factors. Here the pooling of information and insight among a number of teachers becomes a coöperative effort of great diagnostic value. It will aid teachers in distinguishing between the common deviations in adolescent behavior with which they can deal in ordinary classroom situations and those more severe maladjustments which indicate the desirability of special guidance or outside professional help. Among the best clues to a student's general adjustment at this level is his relationship throughout the school to other boys and girls, his acceptance by the group, his ability to participate in group concerns with satisfaction. Teachers can judge too by his prevailing mood—a general air of happiness and contentment as contrasted with a chronic moodiness or irritability—though occasional passing interludes of

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depression or irritability are to be expected at this age. An additional clue may be found in comparing teacher reactions. The child who seems to present markedly different fronts to different people, whose teachers disagree widely in their judgment of his personality and his abilities, is apt to be a child in difficulty. Finally, they might watch with concern the child who is constantly in disciplinary difficulties, who seems to need to get himself punished, and his exact opposite, the child who never gets into any trouble at all, who accepts adult standards too readily and makes no move toward independence. Where professional guidance is available, these are the boys and girls who should have such help and about whom teachers may well seek advice.

In order to use behavior as a source for significant clues to students' personalities and to their developmental needs, situations in the school must be facilitated in which spontaneous behavior can display itself. Such situations in which active participation and individual expression are encouraged will not only assist the teacher toward a better understanding of his students but also offer the adolescent opportunities for valuable experimentation. Problems inherent in adolescent development are not of the type which can be solved by a convenient classroom device or by an effort of reason. They are the result of profound and far-reaching changes in the personality; they are processes rather than questions which can be answered by a statement or puzzles which can be worked out by a neat formula. Therefore they demand patience, insight, and time perspective on the part of the educator. For their solution adolescent problems demand, above all, that the young person be given the opportunity to acquire experiences that will gradually bring about a new directedness and orientation in a broader world, experiences in all aspects of living in which he can explore his new powers, differentiate them toward mature goals, and pass through the reorganization of his emotional life under those conditions which make maturity desirable, attainable, and realistic.

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